Commemoration Volume

Presented to
Dr. K. G. Saiyidain
on his Sixtieth Birthday,
October 16, 1964

Edited by
Dr. S. ABID HUSAIN
ABDUR RASHID

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Foreword

By DR. ZAKIR HUSAIN

If birthdays, specially of those who have entered old age, were celebrated merely to remind them of so much time that had passed and would never come back, they would be depressing occasions indeed. The only sensible purpose which such ceremonies can serve is to provide an opportunity for taking stock of what the person whose birthday is being celebrated has been able to achieve in the course of so many years in terms of higher values of life. From this point of view, there can be few occasions more worthy of celebration and more suitable for rejoicing than the day on which Dr. K.G. Saiyidain completes sixty years of a good and graceful life and forty years of a rich and fruitful career as a teacher, administrator and man of letters. Dr. Saiyidain's achievements can be seen in the enlightened, efficient and conscientious teachers whom he trained in modern methods of education, in the significant books he wrote on important educational and cultural subjects, in the useful schemes he introduced to raise the level of national culture, but above all, in the image of his own personality which has impressed itself on the minds of those who came in close contact with him. This image is reflected in this little volume which a Sponsoring Committee composed of some outstanding personalities in the fields of Education, Literature, Art, Politics and Social Work in India and America, is presenting to him and to which a number of leading figures in these fields have contributed.

The Volume contains, not only appreciations of Dr. Saiyidain's numerous qualities and accomplishments, but also valuable fruits of thought and research on educational, literary and sociological subjects by his friends, admirers and colleagues. All these tributes, including one or two which combine compliments with friendly but quite frank criticism, bear witness to the deep

affection and esteem in which the contributors to the volume—teachers, professors, writers, artists, cabinet ministers, governors—hold this man of learning and culture, of ideas, and ideals and practical good sense. I am glad to add to these my own tribute to his great qualities of head and heart and sincere good wishes on his sixtieth birthday. May he live for many more years—a life devoted to the service of the Indian community and of the world community—to which Nehru's India has pledged her faith.

Contents

Part I

MESSAGES

Messages

RASHTRAPATI BHAVAN,
NEW DELHI-4.

May 24, 1964.

Shri Saiyidain has been serving the cause of Indian education for over a generation and I hope very much that he will continue his good work for many years.

(S. Radhakrishnan)

Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, Prime Minister of India:

The Prime Minister is glad to learn that a Commemoration Volume is to be presented to Dr. K. G. Saiyidain on his 60th birthday which falls on October 16, 1964. He sends his blessings and good wishes on the occasion.

•

Shri M. C. Chagla, Education Minister, Govt. of India:

I am glad that a Commemoration Volume is being presented to the educationist and humanist Dr. K. G. Saiyidain on his 60th birthday. Dr. Saiyidain does not need introduction; he is well-known for his scholarship, erudition and clarity of thought and expression.

Education, particularly Basic Education, has been and continues to be his first and foremost love. He has been an associate of Mahatma Gandhi and Dr. Zakir Husain in drawing up the Scheme of National Basic Education. He has rendered valuable services not only to education but also to literature and culture.

I am sure Dr. Saiyidain will continue to give his best to the cause of education.

•

Sardar Hukam Singh, Speaker, Lok Sabha:

I am glad to note that a Committee has been constituted under the Chairmanship of Dr. Zakir Husain for the purpose of preparing and presenting a Commemoration Volume to Dr. K. G. Saiyidain on his 60th birthday. Dr. Saiyidain's services to the country and particularly in the field of education are very commendable and this would be a good recognition by the public of the merits of this scholar. I send my good wishes for the occasion.

Shrimati Vijayalaxmi Pandit, Governor of Maharashtra:

My congratulations and good wishes to Dr. Saiyidain on his 60th birthday.

•

Maharaja Dr. Karan Singh, Sadr-i-Riyasat, Jammu & Kashmir:

I do not personally look with favour on Commemoration Volumes. If deserved they are superfluous, if undeserved abnoxious. There can be no two opinions that Shri Saiyidain is an eminent scholar and teacher, and therefore I feel that a Commemoration Volume is superfluous. In any case I send my very warm greetings. It is but fitting that he has been included in the newly appointed Education Commission, which I am sure will benefit from his mature wisdom and advice.

•

His Holiness Mulla Tahir Saifuddin Sahib, Chancellor, Aligarh Muslim University:

It gives me great pleasure to learn that Dr. Khwaja Ghulam-us-Saiyidain is completing sixty years of his life, devoted to the cause of education and pursuit of scholarship. It has been his privilege to hold many positions of prestige and influence so far, each of which has gained distinction from the impact of his learning, earnestness and zeal.

Education has been an effective vehicle in his hands for the transmission of a comprehensive view of life and its problems based on intellectual and moral discipline.

May God bless him and give him strength to serve our country in significant spheres of activity.

Shri R. R. Diwakar, Ex-Governor of Bihar, Founder Loka Shikshna Trust, Hubli:

It gives me great pleasure to associate myself with the Commemoration Volume to be presented to Dr. K.G. Saiyidain on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday. He has behind him a record of service which would do honour to any educationist of national or international fame. I have no doubt that he has a bright career in front of him and he will add greater contributions to the cause of education.

•

Mr. Arthur E. Morgan, Founder, Antioch College, U.S.A.:

When I think of Dr. Saiyidain I think of the versatality of his educational interests, of a personality which sustains and vitalises these interests, and of purposefulness which makes his resources of mind and spirit available for serving his country and his time. The existence of such men adds to the quality and to the promise of a culture. In fact they are the Chief source of its progress.

It is a pleasure and a privilege to be among those who express their appreciation for what he has been and for what he has done.

•

Shri Shriman Narayan, Member, Planning Commission, Government of India:

I am very happy to know that a Committee under the Chairmanship of Dr. Zakir Husain has been constituted for presenting a Commemoration Volume to Dr. K. G. Saiyidain on his sixtieth birthday. I would like to send my cordial greetings and felicitations for the occasion.

Shri G.M. Sadiq, Prime Minister, Jammu and Kashmir:

I am glad to learn that a Commemoration Volume is being presented to Dr. K. G. Saiyidain on his sixtieth birthday. Dr. Saiyidain's services to the country in the field of education are many and in honouring him the Commemoration Committee is honouring an eminent educationist who has devoted his rich talent and vast energy in the development of education. We in Jammu and Kashmir having had the benefit of Dr. Saiyidain's valued advice and guidance in the sphere of education, will always remember him with feelings of deep love and gratitude. It gives me great pleasure to join in paying my humble tribute to the services rendered by this outstanding son of the country and in wishing him many more years of dedicated service to the cause so dear to his heart.

•

Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani, Chief Minister, Government of Uttar Pradesh:

Dr. K. G. Saiyidain will shortly be celebrating his 60th birthday and I am glad that a Commemoration Volume will be presented to him on that date by a Committee constituted for this purpose under the Chairmanship of Dr. Zakir Husain. Dr. Saiyidain is an eminent educationist and has a distinguished record of service which covers a period of 40 years. It is therefore befitting that a Commemoration Volume be presented to him on that date. On this occasion I send my best wishes.

•

Shri Syed Ali Zaheer, Law Minister, Government of Uttar Pradesh:

Khwaja Ghulam-us-Saiyidain has always impressed me as a man possessed of profound knowledge, serene temperament and a delicate sense of humour. His services to the country at

large in educational field are well-known. He is one of the leading authorities on educational matters. His unostentatious and simple life devoted to intellectual pursuits is an example for the future generations. It is only when he is speaking on some subject of his liking that one is able to gather an impression of the immense fund of knowledge, which is stored within him. His writings are well-known in the country, and his latest book in Urdu languge "Andhi men Chiragh" has won for him the Sahitya Akademi Award for 1962.

I have been always struck by his intellectual integrity and uprightness of character. His selflessness, humanity and love of knowledge are qualities, which are a shining example for the youth of this country. It is no exaggeration to say that there are very few in this country, who simultaneously possess all such qualities. It is my prayer that in spite of his frail health Khwaja Ghulam-us-Saiyidain may be spared for long years to come to serve India and the humanity by his profound knowledge of Educational matters, and by his example as a man.

•

Nawab Ahmad Saeed Khan, Aligarh :

I am very happy to learn that it is proposed that a commemoration volume is to be presented to Dr. K. G. Saiyidain on his 60th Birthday. He is one of the eminent educationists of India. I have known him for a long long time. In every phase of life and in every responsible post that he held, he commanded not only the respect but also love of those who came in contact with him. In him we find a very fine synthesis of the old values which we cherish and are so dear to us, and the healthy modern ideas and ideals. Dr. Saiyidain has developed in his personality the real purpose of education—the appreciation of what is good in old culture and what is good in modern ideas. I pray that he may live long to guide the educational policy of our country.

Part II

PERSONAL APPRECIATIONS

1

Gentility, Humanity, Wisdom: Dr. K. G. Saiyidain

BY LINDLEY J. STILES

Often a man's image abroad is more revealing than that held by his countrymen. In the case of Dr. K.G. Saiyidain the perceptions held at home and afar are remarkably consistent—a genteel and humane man with a universal wisdom.

To know the quiet gentility and warm human spirit, the sincere respect for others, the empathetic capacity to feel in another's place, the concern for humanity everywhere of Dr. Saiyidain is to love him. To share the products of his keen mind, his persistent searching for higher values, his quest for truth, his tolerance of contrary views, is to respect him deeply. To feel the power of his influence, to sense the breadth of the reach of his ideas, to realize that his effect on others is as wholesome as it is on self, is to be eternally thankful for his model. A man with so warm a personality, so generous a spirit, so keen a mind, so deep a dedication, may be eulogized but not described.

Dr. K.G Saiyidain needs no thanks or appreciation for being what he would have been anyway. His life has been a rich symphony of service and stimulation to his fellow human beings around the world. His profound contributions to humanity have come without the asking and will continue to flow without the pleading. He lives for others because this is his destiny. He searches to understand and interpret man's groping for community in a world of tensions because such is his natural inclination. He brings to his effort a great mind because such was his inheritance. He adds to these attributes a scholarship unexcelled because such is his dedication. It remains for those who know him to express our admiration and appreciation because of the good it does for us. Even here Dr. Saiyidain in his

quiet, unassuming, uninitiated way contributes happiness to those about him. We speak our praise that we may feel renewed in his spirit and refreshed in his friendship.

The University of Wisconsin where Dr. Saiyidain served as Distinguished Guest Lecturer during 1962-63 has been described in these words:

> *Wisconsin is equality, democracy, freedom, opportunity, humanity. Wisconsin is a spirit that encircles the world and reaches into space. It is an idea: that truth in the hands of people is the end of education*[1].

Dr. Saiyidain is truly a part of Wisconsin as he is a part of the universal search for truth and humanity everywhere. All claim and acclaim this genteel personality, this human spirit, this wise and learned man, this model of the world citizen—Dr. K.G. Saiyidain.

1. Lindley J. Stiles, "What Is Wisconsin?", *Ideas and Images for Life with Young People* (Madison, Wisconsin: Dembar Educational Research Services, Inc., 1964), pp. 74-78.

2

Dr. Saiyidain: as a Family Man

BY ROBERT H. SCHACHT

It is an honour and a pleasure to be invited to contribute a brief tribute to our mutual friend, Dr. K.G. Saiyidain, on this special occasion of his sixtieth birthday. Each of us who do so, while we may be unknown to each other, is in a unique sense now related in our cooperative effort of recognizing the many contributions of this gentleman and scholar.

In the many aspects of his private and professional life Dr. Saiyidain met a wide variety of men and women from all parts of the world. Those who came under the spell of his warm personality could never forget this soft-spoken man and, half a world away, the mention of his name makes strangers friends. When two persons who have never known each other meet and discover they each know Saiyidain, they invariably share with each other some of the warmth and mutual respect they still retain from their earlier contact with him.

What is there about this man, so restrained and unpretentious, who brings out the best in those he meets? And what is there about him that kindles a feeling of brotherhood between those who mention his name and reminiscence of memories so fondly retained?

Some will think of Dr. Saiyidain chiefly as a scholar. I appreciate and respect his scholarship as I have come to know it through his writings, his lectures, and the penetrating observations of his conversation. Others may think of him chiefly as an administrator or teacher.

I remember him mostly as a family man--a father and husband —over four short months which included happiness, sorrow and tragedy. The period of happiness was much too short, but

during it we came to know him, Mrs. Saiyidain, and his youngest daughter, Saiyda. We shared with them the gay adventure of taking up housekeeping in The United States. We were introduced to new friends and new ideas. When illness struck we tried to give support as best we could. During this time a close friend could not help but observe how the deep inner resources of the man provided encouragement, support, perspective, and comfort. The real measure of a man is often best taken by observing him in life's darkest moments. Dr. Saiyidain not only measured up personally, but he quietly testified to the power of his religious faith. In the end, we were the richer for having walked with him.

He should know, too, as he reads this letter, of what I as a father of a daughter learned from him in his attitude toward Saiyda, and what I as a husband learned from his attitude toward and comments about his dear wife. So it was not only an appreciation for what might be called the best of the culture of India he left with us, but an appreciation for what is best in man, for although an Indian, Saiyidain was also a humanist and cosmopolitan. We treasure this memory and hope that he may return to Madison soon to revitalize it and walk among us again.

My family joins me in expressing our fondest wishes for a very happy birthday and we hope he has many more of them.

3

Portrait of a Gentleman

By K. P. S. MENON

Oliver Goldsmith once said about Dr. Johnson that you had only to see him casually taking shelter from the rain under a tree in order to realise that you were in the presence of a great man. Similarly, one may say that you have only to see Saiyidain casually emerging from his bath in his dressing gown in order to feel that you are in the presence of a gentle-man.

The hyphen in 'gentle-man' is not a typing error. I have deliberately inserted it. Unfortunately, the word 'gentleman' has come to have a number of derivative and sometimes derogatory meanings. The Concise Oxford Dictionary defines a gentleman as "a man entitled to bear arms but not noble, chivalrous well-bred man, man of good social position, man of wealth and leisure, man of no occupation, male part of an audience, form of address to a firm and men's public urinal". Of these meanings, the one which fits Saiyidain perfectly is that he is a chivalrous, well-bred man.

Unfortunately, the word 'gentleman' is often used in an ungentle sense. As long ago as the 14th century, Piers Plowman cried:

When Adam delved and Eve span
Who was then the gentleman?

Robert Burns elaborated the distinction between a man and a gentleman in his spirited poem: A man's a man for a' that. The Communists have altogether discarded the word 'gospodin', the Russian equivalent of gentleman, or reserved it for foreigners; they call one another 'tavarish' or comrade. Once, when the Soviet leaders were entertaining an Indian cultural delegation to a midnight supper at the Bolshoi Theatre, my First Secretary, P.N. Kaul, strolled in. "Come in, tavarish", said Bulganin. "What have you done?", asked Kaganovich, "You have called

Mr. Kaul 'tavarish'; and Mr. Menon will report this to his Government and his Government will think that Mr. Kaul has gone red!"

The remarkable thing about Saiyidain is that in the company of gospodins one feels like calling him 'tavarish', and in the midst of tavarishes he is a 'gospodin'. He is thus different from other men who like to swim with the tide and pose as a gospodin among gospodins and a tavarish among tavarishes. Saiyidain, on the contrary, always remains himself. I have seen him in Nanking in the company of Confucian gentlemen, and in Moscow in the company of Communist comrades. In both places he was perfectly at home, albeit slightly detached.

Saiyidain's personality always reminds me of Hu Shih, the last great humanist of China. For a time, Hu Shih, like our own Radhakrishnan, foresook philosophy for diplomacy; he became Ambassador to the USA. He was, however, disgusted by the increasing corruption and demoralisation of the Kuomintang. At the same time, he was nervous of the oncoming tide of Communism and resentful of the regimentation which it brought in its wake. He, therefore, sought refuge from politics and, indeed, from his own motherland in the cloistral seclusion of the University of Harvard.

Saiyidain, too, has had to take temporary refuge from bureaucratic boorishness in the USA, but he has not fallen between two stools, as Hu Shih did. That is because these stools do not stand ranged against each other in the eclectic atmosphere of India. On the contrary, India acts as a bridge between these two poise, grace stools; and men like Saiyidain can walk on it with a delicate poise, grace and balance.

Saiyidain has in common with Hu Shih another attractive quality, a sense of humour. Erudition sits lightly on both. Hu Shih's own hobby was to collect stories of henpecked husbands. At my last meeting with him at Nanking in 1947, he told me that he had collected these stories from all countries of the world, except Germany and Japan where men are he-men and refuse to be henpecked. I must confess that I, hailing from a matrilineal society, added a couple of anecdotes to his rich repertoire. I suspect that Saiyidain's own hobby has been to collect stories about South Indian Brahmins. Here is a specimen. An

Englishman accosted a fellow passenger from South India on a P&O boat to England and asked him "Are you a good sailor?" "I, a sailor!" came the reply, "I am Rao Bahadur Dharmapani Iyer, Headmaster of Poonambalan High School, Thirupparakundram". And Saiyidain would relate this story with gusto perfectly imitating the broad South Indian accent.

Saiyidain was at his best in the company of his own wife and children. His hospitable home in Delhi always had a faintly UNESCO air. There one could meet a wide variety of cultured men and women—Hindus and Muslims, Americans and Russians poets and artists; and all of them inhaled the fragrance of the friendship so freely given by his adoring and adored wife and his charming daughters flitting in and out like so many little fairies. An envious individual, seeing how closely knit the Saiyidain family was, said that the members of that family seemed to form a mutual admiration society. All I could say in reply was that they had good reason for admiring one another.

4

An Appreciation

By RUKMINI DEVI ARUNDALE

It gives me great pleasure to write a few words on the occasion of the 60th birthday of Dr. K. G. Saiyidain.

I have known Dr. Saiyidain for many years and I remember the first time I met him when he was in Ahmedabad during an educational conference. From that time on I have had constant contact and have come to know of him to be one of the most cultured gentleman as well as one who has a thorough knowledge not only of education but also of poetry and literature specially Urdu and Persian.

There are not many real educationists in India because education requires a special talent. It is not enough to be educated or to have degrees in order to be an educationist. Just as for an artist or a doctor there is a special quality attached to it, so also is it true for an educationist. Therefore, it has indeed been a very happy experience for me to come into contact with Dr. Saiyidain and I am sure we can all be grateful to him for the valuable and outstanding work he has done in India.

Dr. Saiyidain comes from a truly cultured family of Arabian origin which had lived for a long time in Persia before migrating to India several centuries ago, and he possesses in himself the grace and the quality of culture which is associated in our minds with Persia the original land of mystic beauty. I hope Dr. Saiyidain will live a long time to serve our country and to inspire and help our youngmen and women to work for the progress of the Nation. I am happy to know him as a friend and wish him perfect happiness and health in the years to come.

5

A Remarkable Personality

BY ZARINA CURRIM BHOY

I have known Dr. Saiyidain intimately for some years. It was in 1947 that I met him for the first time. I wanted to attend a meeting in Delhi and I knew he was attending it as well. A common friend introduced us. Subsequently, we had several opportunities of meeting each other when he was in Bombay as Educational Adviser to the State Government. Both of us were members of the Film Censor Board and had to review films twice or thrice a week. Thus I got to hnow something of his optimistic philosophy of life and his respect for the native intelligence of man. I remember our seeing an Indian film together which was particularly stupid and feeling worried about people spending time and money on it, when Saiyidain remarked, "Don't worry, the common man is more discerning than we think— before long he will kill it."

Later, Saiyidain went to Delhi and occupied important positions in the Ministry of Education. But he and his wife remained constant in their friendly relations. Saiyidain has remarkable way of keeping hold of his friends. Even his personal letters dealing with everyday subjects, as family life, are somehow illuminated with an idea, or information about an inspiring book that he would like you to read, an unusual thought that has struck him which he would like to share, and when you have finished his letter you are left with a feeling of having culled a rich harvest.

Some years ago I received a Travelogue from Saiyidain from which a paragraph stands out in my memory as striking a keynote of this remarkable man's personality.

> "I believe that we should primarily look for what is good in people and not go about with a drain inspector's mentality to find the evil and the filth! In fact, by looking for the

good in others—and giving of our best to them—we evoke the good in them. This approach may have its own dangers but these dangers are surely much less than in an approach based on suspicion, narrow-mindedness and national arrogance".

These are not mere words but ideals which Saiyidain practises and lives up to. Normally when an individual has been wronged the reaction is to hit back. But Saiyidain would always say that we should do what we consider right, irrespective of how others behave.

I was privileged to stay with the Saiyidains whenever I visited Delhi. This was somehow frequent in those days. My stay in their home, was made doubly comfortable because of Mrs. Saiyidain's sincere welcome. She was in her own way an equally remarkable person. To strangers who did not know what fountains of love and affection lay in her, she appeared a shy and quiet person. But in actuality, she was like a firm and constant element in the lives of her family and the numerous relations who were practically part of the household. She was always helping those in need or distress. And I think the energetic and dynamic in Saiyidain came to rest in the calmness and serenity of his wife. They were the most happily married couple that I have ever known. Their life was one of mutual comfort, mutual help, and mutual dependence.

Saiyidain often talked about the basic principle of freedom which he regarded essential to a good life, and a necessary condition for ensuring the dignity of the human personality. He applied this to his family. He allowed his wife to develop her own potentialities so that she could realise herself. Saiyidain's attitude was the same to his four lovely daughters. As students, they were all brilliant. He treated them as individuals and allowed each to develop in her own way. I do not recollect Saiyidain praising one daughter more, because her interests lay more in the literary and another less because her interests lay more in the domestic sphere. In his characteristic style he would make fun of them and praise them when they deserved it. He was gracefully demonstrative in his affection. It was a delightful household, free from strains and stresses, show and pretence.

I am glad I had often the opportunity to stay with Saiyidain

and spend many a relaxed evening listening to his illuminating ideas, which he did not propound as a doctrine, or a philosophy, but simply expressed as his reactions to life. Saiyidain's high ideals, his unselfishness, his tenderness and graciousness inspired me. His belief in the incalculable ingenuity of the mind, and the penetrating depth of the human heart always astounded me. His understanding of the universal wisdom of the various scriptures and especially his interpretation of selected verses from the Qur'an opened a new horizon before me. I realised the beauty of the thoughts expressed in these ancient writings. They have sustained me through my darkest moments, and I can truly say that Saiyidain has helped me to realise Divine Benevolence: "*Rahmat*" and to find a meaning and purpose to this eternal mystery which we call life.

Ever since I came to know Saiyidain I have found in him a consistent faith and philosophy of living. His disciplined control over himself has helped him to develop the capacity to maintain an inward calm in his centre of being. This quiet excitement of developing one's qualities and abilities and the thrill of acquiring a sense of power for good, is the reward of true self-control. Perhaps this habit of constraint is essential if a higher order of growth is to come forth.

This eminent Indian educationist and humanist Dr. K.G. Saiyidain cannot be described better than in the words of Dr. Radhakrishnan :

> "*Education to be complete must be humane—It must include not only the training of the intellect but also the refinement of the heart and the discipline of the spirit*".

Surely, this is a true evaluation of the remarkable personality of Saiyidain.

6

Dr. Saiyidain

By LEENA MANGALDAS

In the early fifties I went up a flight of steps of a big building near Churchgate station in Bombay. As a young mother and the promoter of a little school 'Shreyas' in Ahmedabad, I was with some apprehension going up to the office of the Educational Adviser to the Government of Bombay State. I was not used to such interviews with officials in the Government Departments. When the door was opened by the Secretary of the Adviser and I was ushered into a room, I found at a huge writing desk a pale and frail person in a white *achkan*. He had a gentle way and kindly look and a modesty which was reassuring. I sat opposite to him telling him the story of our school, Shreyas, and its activities. He let me speak with great patience without interrupting me and without any learned question or advice or doubt. It seemed he had a way of infinite patience, humility and humanity which kept himself in the background allowing younger persons to express themselves with encouragement and assurance. After this first meeting, I never missed an opportunity of calling on him first as Educational Adviser in Bombay and then as Educational Secretary in New Delhi. It was not necessary to give a long notice for an appointment. I felt welcome in his office as well as in his home, though I had sometimes to wait for him to return from his crowded programme of the day. Sometimes this waiting gave me a glimpse of his personal life, of his wife and his daughters and sisters. The refinement and sensitivity which was radiant with a goodwill and warmth pervaded around him.

On several occasions I received letters from him about his various tours in other countries and his reflections as a Visiting Professor. This gave us a feeling that he remembered us well and was as eager to share his experience with us as we were with him.

On many occasions he visited Ahmedabad and each time his coming to our School gave a new zest and encouragement to all of us who came in contact with him. It was only once that I heard him speak on the platform. How deeply striking it was to listen to his speech which was learned, thought-provoking and full of feeling!

These reminiscences arouse again in me a deep feeling of respect, reverence and love for Dr. Saiyidain and I feel deeply touched that I am asked to pen these few words.

7

The Country Calls

BY MULK RAJ ANAND

My dear Saiyidain,

The presentation of a volume of essays on your 60th Birthday is far too formal an occasion for a personal letter. But, as a creative writer, I am a private person and cannot talk in terms of generalities while offering you my felicitations. Because to me the importance of your contribution to the ideas and methods by which people can be taught rests in the fact that you always had the training of the individual for human life in mind when you did your field work or wrote your books. Your activities have been essentially directed to the deepening of the private life of men and women and not towards the preparation of people for what is called the public life, especially of politics. So an epistle from a private person to a private person may not be out of place in a volume of tributes even though it is unconventional. At the outset, may I say that your success lies in the honest recognition by you of the barbarism of our age.

I remember the opening sentences of one of your lectures delivered in America. You deplored the fact that one day when you mentioned that the Russians had invented something quite sensational the American, a University man, to whom you were talking, felt unhappy that the Soviets should have gone ahead of the U.S.A. in this particular respect. You felt that, if in the 20th century an educated person can feel this kind of spite as a national of one country against another then education has failed. I believe you were dead right and it is this kind of recognition on your part of the failure of our generation of the intelligentsia, to which I want to draw the attention of our friends.

We first met when you were Educational Adviser in Jammu and Kashmir State. And I remember with what modesty you confessed to the fundamental difficulty in bringing an enlightened

system of teaching into a princely state. At that time we were all working towards the aim of political freedom for India. And though you did not say so, I presumed that you felt that, after the achievement of liberty from British rule and its ancillaries, the feudalists, things would be much better.

I do not know how far the books you began to write about that time were inspired by the feeling of preparing for this time, when you may be able to carry out some of your findings into a new system of teaching.

I remember your brilliant analysis of the philosophy of the poet Iqbal in its relation to the making of the individual conscience—the way it can be informed with the true spirit of Islam, so that the human being may become integrated by a synthesis between the traditional values of the Quran and the discoveries of the modern world. Unfortunately, you and many of your friends were soon to be accosted by the perversion of Iqbal's own mind, by a narrow Islamic nationalism which had a good deal to do with the foundation of the Pakistan State as a theocracy.

This must have disillusioned you, as it disillusioned some of us, who had also recognised in the early poems of Iqbal and his philosophical writings, the prophecies which were to deliver us from our slavish mentality from our immitativeness and our narrow fanaticisms, into the security of the 'New Temple'. I had been privileged myself, as a student in the Punjab, to sit at the feet of this master. I had written my first adolescent poems under the influence of his Bang-i-Dara. In fact, I had sought his advice about my research in philosophy and he had encouraged me, even against the wishes of my father, to go to Europe and learn the scientific mode of thinking which he said had given him his own particular resilience. Until the end of my stay in the West, I was in contact with him, both through his writings and personally. You can imagine then my utter disenchantment when I found that he became the inspiration behind the orthodoxy of those small-minded politicians who were only after the gains of power, money and privilege for a small class of exploiters. I consider him one of our lost prophets and though I still value a good deal of his first teaching, I repudiate those who in the name of a show goodwill do not wish to separate the freedom he

conferred upon us from the slavery to dogma he left as an important part of the heritage of the intelligentsia of Pakistan.

After the Second World War, and the transfer of power from British to Indian hands, you were already in a position to put through some of your liberal, humane and sympathetic, ideas into practice in the field of education under the guidance of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. Our country was free. Our new government enjoyed power. And you must have felt that the propititious moment had arrived to undo the pernicious effects of the British Indian Babu-producing educational system, which we had inherited and to usher in the concept of the free, growing individual as the ideal of the philosophy of educating men and women from infancy to adult manhood.

And yet, as you know, you were unable to introduce any significant reforms which might have led by now to the creation of opportunities for the qualities of mind and heart in the students of our country which might have made India into a laboratory for the evolution of a new kind of man, a national of one country who would also be a citizen of the world.

There is no doubt that your books of this period, along with the writings of Gandhiji and Zakir Husain, have in them all the ideas which might have gone to make a humanist educational system and yet why could not our Government, in spite of five or six reports from various commissions of inquiry into the state of education in the country, evolve a fresh scheme and put it into practice?

Some people blame, the bureaucratic tendencies of our own centre for this default. I do not agree with this view because Maulana Azad himself, you, Humayun Kabir and Ashfaque Hussain, were not authoritarian minds, rigid in their addiction to wrongly conceived official ideas. You had all learned from Gandhiji to open the windows of your soul to allow all the breezes to blow in. And each one of you had the strength to stand firm in spite of the storms which were threatening to sweep us off our feet.

I cannot understand why nothing very much got done. But, if I think aloud, I feel I can get glimpses of the basic weakness of our country, which still makes it difficult to think in terms of an

integrated Indian individual. I guess the disease lies in denomi-nationalism in the religious and casteist prejudices of many sections of our intelligentsia, even among those who professed their loyalty to the Nehruite secular democracy. The fact that there are still in our country, communal parties who fight elections on the basis of religion and caste and superstition and the *Hindu University* of Benaras and *Muslim University* of Aligarh are symptoms of this malady. But the tentacles of this ailment spread deep into our body politic and nothing that you and your enlightened colleagues could have done had much chance of success in eradicating the sectional communal attitudes of mind in which the roots of many half-concealed obscurantist points of view that insidiously undermine the hope of reform and the conversion of our ideas into facts. No small body of disinterested human and noble personages can destroy this virus in our country, if we allow ourselves to be steamrollered into compromises with all kinds of adverse opinions.

I am not suggesting that you and your colleagues should have become illiberal and issued fiats, decreeing a new order, but I am asking whether it was not possible to protest against those who did not want the new education and who were making it impossible for you to carry out your ideas.

I am afraid good people like you do not believe in asking awkward questions, because you feel that this is not polite, and thus many things go by default. I am reminded of the poet W.B. Yeats' comment:

'The ceremony of innocence is drowned
the shrill have all the voices..............'

You will say that you did retire from the government of India when it seemed to you that you could not make a dent into the education system by your gentle interventions and you will mention that you left Kashmir (where you had gone as Educational Adviser again after many years), because you could not work inside a difficult political situation.

I admire your integrity. But I feel that our guide, philosopher and friend, Dr. Zakir Husain has shown another way, which is also open to us: The ability to speak up with 'holy anger' and to call in question those who get away with rhetorical speeches, boasting of vast achievements and camouflaging the failures.

For instance, Zakir Saheb said, a year or two ago, that 'basic education as practised in our country is a fraud'. He spoke for all of us and did a great deal more good than do those of us who believe in the dignity of silence. Because the approach implicit in not saying unpleasant things does not register on the hide-bound minds who mostly constitute the bedrock of our conservative orthodox order.

I know that you are doing important, sincere and efficient work wherever you are, and I feel that the ideas you have been putting forward are much more needed in the west, where the cold war has spread its grip on a whole generation. But, from my natural partiality for the claims of our country to the fruits of your experience, I always wish you back in our midst. The *reason for this is that I think India needs you more urgently,* because of the prolonged neglects here, specially in the one field in which you are a master mind, and your mere presence among *us would radiate the illumination which we need in the feudal twilight which surrounds* us.

Perhaps the next decade or so will decide the future of the world. Either the forces for war-making will allow a trigger to be pulled by accident and lead us all to the chain of casualty which goes straight the 'operation doomsday', or there will be five per cent disarmament which may provide to the U.N.O. the pool of resources to help build up the world everywhere into an economy of basic plenty.

If the latter process is initiated, then it is only the teachers who have been taught by you, the reconstructors who have been constructed through your ideas, and the new innocent generation that is in the doldrums, who need you to give them the direction of advance towards the life of the individual as you conceive him to be a human being, free, growing, creative and shining like a lamp which may cast the glow on other people who have been left in the darkness for no fault of theirs but through the workings of societies which did not enjoy equality of opportunity.

The passing away of our friend Jawaharlal Nehru, who was a pioneer in the east of the philosophy and practice of humanism has left a vacuum where it becomes necessary for all those,

who were like-minded with him, to come and struggle in the pursuit of our common dreams.

May I, therefore, ask you, in the name of our solidarity of many years, to return. We will let you go away every now and then to tell other countries that we are with them in their urges for a civilized world order, free from fear and bitterness and prejudice, which are the feeding ground of social hatred and war. But we cannot preach elsewhere, if we do not mature our beliefs in the laboratory where we may have some chance of experimenting for a culture of co-existence and peace, which is part of the one world culture to which you have dedicated all your faculties and experience during the years.

8

The Quality of Leadership

(An aspect of Dr. Saiyidain's personality

BY J. L. KAUL

Education, in the field and, more particularly, in the departmental administration, is apt to become a routine, often dull and lifeless. We, in Kashmir, gratefully remember the advent of Dr. K. G. Saiyidain, who took over as Director of Education in the middle thirties and who with the rare combination of the qualities of administrative drive, suavity of speech and manners, and an understanding heart, soon put new life into the activities of the department. What we thought of him then and what he did for us may well be put in the words of a preface which I had an occasion to write as the Editor of *Discourses* of the (then) Prince of Wales College Science and Culture Club (1942-43).

"SIR,—The good that Science and Culture Club has done may not be measured by the papers published in this book ; for, like the influence of the good teacher, the good it has done is incalculable. The Club has disturbed the placidity of the students' mind : it has made them read and think and discuss and, what is more, made them come together to read and think and discuss.

"The Club has also disturbed the placidity of the Professors. Classroom efficiency is not enough nor is the best of textbook teachers good enough. We realize that there may be short cuts to a degree but there are no short cuts to knowledge ; that education is not accumulation but assimilation, not filling the mind but quickening it ; that facts and figures are valuable but the talent to marshal and use them and draw inferences from them is still more valuable ; that, in the words of Bacon, books "teach not their own use, but that is a wisdom without them and

above them", and the mind is to be trained to their use ; and that teaching must be creative : it should stimulate thought, free intelligence, and correlate not only the various items of knowledge but also knowledge and thought with life and environment. And if this be so, the teacher cannot rest on his oars, nor allow the daily routine to deaden him ; but he must feed his curiosity and enrich his mind, read and think and discuss and give freely of his best.........

"We aren't a prophet but if we were, we would not be honoured in our part of the country for what little we do ; because those who would do us honour have been under the spell of other values and other standards and have learnt to look elsewhere for cultural as for sartorial standards.

"Now the spell has begun to break, new values are coming to their own'; and, his status and salary notwithstanding, the teacher here has gained confidence in himself and his work. You, Sir, broke the spell, and your word of appreciation has drawn out the modest and helped to overcome their timidity. Your word of appreciation, hard to get but generously given when deserved, carries weight and value here as elsewhere in India."

The spell began to break and new values came to their own in respect not only of college teachers and college teaching but also primary and secondary school teachers. I have myself seen Dr. Saiyidain as the Director holding the door curtain for a primary teacher shy and hesitant to approach him. We have had the refreshing experience of his telling certain candidates for jobs in the department that it did not add to his stature as a Muslim to give preference to a third class Muslim candidate over a first class non-Muslim. And, on the very day when in the then State Praja Sabha, speeches were made against him in a language prickling with barb and venom, Dr. Saiyidain, untouched by what he had listened to, decided cases relating to the matters under discussion on their merit as if nothing had happened. I have known him change his decision and withdraw his recommendation when facts were brought to his notice in regard to a very influential Muslim candidate who had not been sent up to the University examination and, in whose behalf, a delegation of the Muslim Members of the then State Praja Sabha had met him.

These are perhaps little things, but little things of everyday life more truly reveal the total personality of a man, albeit eminent, than the few isolated big projects or events with which he may be associated. This is more so in a field of activity like education, which, to be durable in its results, is an everyday job, exacting but unostentatious. I am, therefore, not saying here what Dr. Saiyidain did for spreading adult literacy, raising the percentage of literacy from a low five per cent to about eleven per cent in the State, introducing basic education and, above all, for re-organising the department in all its varied branches. I would rather stress the quality of leadership he brought to bear on his work. More by example than by precept, Dr. Saiyidain succeeded in infusing among many of us pride in our profession, a sense of vocation, and self-respect. For, men like Dr. Saiyidain have been the salt of the profession.

9

An Apology

By A. Baqi

I consider it an honour and a privilege to have been asked to give in the form of a short script my appreciation of some aspects of Dr. Saiyidain's personality for a commemoration volume to be presented to him on his 60th birthday. I regret my inability not to have done it so far in spite of your giving ample time and two generous extensions.

I had to go out of station so often and quite unexpectedly during February and March last and when I settled down I had an attack of neuralgic headache. It still persists. I much regret that I am, therefore, unable to make a befitting contribution giving my appreciation of such an eminent educationist, writer, and educational administrator as Dr. Saiyidain, to know whom intimately has been my cherished privilege. I had indeed the honour to sit at his feet when he was the Principal, Muslim University, Aligarh, and was thus not only my teacher but also played an important part in my life by giving the right orientation to my Career. God knows to how many other persons he has done the same.

In my opinion, the impact of Dr. Saiyidan's individuality and influence of his charming personality has really to be felt in order to be properly appreciated. It does not fail to impress anyone who comes in contact with him even for a short while. There are no words which can describe this aspect of Dr. Saiyidain's personality just as words fail to convey the beauty and fragrance of a sweet-smelling rose.

He is indeed my ideal of a gentleman. I pray that such a gem among men be spared up for a long long time to enrich the cultural life of the resurgent Indian nation.

10

Dr. K. G. Saiyidain : an Appraisal of Personality and Ideals

By S. BASHIR UDDIN

By a rare, but happy, coincidence, my arrival at Aligarh in 1919 coincided with that of Dr. Saiyidain, as freshman in the late Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College, the progenitor of the present Aligarh Muslim University. It was chance again, which brought me in contact with him soon afterwards. Aged fifteen at the time, Dr. Saiyidain was of a medium stature; slim and slight in build with a head somewhat outsize in relation to other well-set limbs; eyes aglow with intelligence and inquiry, and a face at once cherubic and wise in expression. Even at that tender age, Dr. Saiyidain appeared to possess an individuality distinguished by earnest-mindedness, determination, poise and composure, spirit of accommodation, tolerance, balance of mind, refined manners, a subtle sense of humour, and a strong undercurrent of religious awareness. In addition to this he seemed to possess a literary background of quite unusual dimensions for his age. This background was apparent in his love of books and passion for reading, his active and intelligent participation in literary gatherings, and in debates at the Students' Union. To attribute a man's achievements in any sphere of activity to his family background is, in my judgement, to detract from his real worth. But Dr. Saiyidain's exceptional literary predilections at freshman level bore witness to a heritage rich in solid, substantial and enduring contributions to Urdu in the realm of prose and poetry in the classical tradition with the difference that these contributions conveyed a message of moral significance and an appeal for social betterment. Persian was still cultivated in homes in the U.P. and the Punjab those days and its literary form and

idiom served as a perennial source of inspiration to Urdu authors and writers. Dr. Saiyidain seemed to have developed an aptitude for these two languages at a very early age. As he has often said, from early childhood, he grew up in the midst of books and moved in the company of men dedicated to the cause of the regeneration of the Muslim community through inspiring appeals in both prose and poetry. Indeed, the didactic undertone which characterised his utterances and writings even as a teenager, and the fervent exhortations, as he grew up, through his writings and speeches, for high moral purpose, can be appreciated in the perspective of a social milieu' peopled by persons not only inspired by the noblest ideals of service but by men who fought for these ideals in a spirit of indomitable courage of conviction, against heavy odds. Dr. Saiyidain's own father was one such exceptional character whose portrait the son draws in the following moving words in his National Prize Winner "Andhi-men-Charagh":

> 'It is possible to fix the price of every commodity in the world except that of a noble minded, truthful, courageous, clean and selfless individual who identifies himself with life's highest values and tests them in the crucible of experience ; dedicates his whole life to their service and the service of his fellow beings; neither cares for praise nor expects reward; cheerfully and courageously faces all manner of opposition, suspicion and criticism... such an individual was Khwaja Ghulam-us-Saqlain'

The other two personalities who made a life-long dent in his budding personality were those of the two great poets and thinkers Hali and Iqbal.

Dr. Saiyidain's freshman career began on a note of careful planning and orderliness with time judiciously allocated to study, recreation, extra-curricular activities and prayers as prescribed by religion. The majority of students at the college at that remote age belonged to the Muslim upper middle class families of landed aristocracy, government officials and professional classes, the majority of whom came for having a pleasant four to six years at college during which period they hoped to imbibe social polish and acquire a veneer of culture dubbed as the 'Aligarh Stamp'. These lucky-born youngsters whose background was feudal had established traditions of an easv life in which serious-

ness of purpose occupied a minor place. The emphasis, on the other hand, was on dress, manners, a spirit of camaraderie, intelligent innocuous ragging, competition in poetry, cat-calling at bad mixers and shy freshers and ridiculed of those who had the temerity of taking study seriously soon after their arrival at the college. The pattern of life they lived represented a social order in decadence but colourful in patches. It was but natural in the circumstances that Dr. Saiyidain's arrival in such surroundings would cause ripples in the calm waters of the traditional undergraduate life and attract the attention of the 'lords' and 'veterans'. He was greeted with grunts and hissings for the unorthodox undergraduate life he led. He was subjected to jeering and ridicule. It did not take him long, however, to get over these initial difficulties by virtue of the outstanding traits described above. Moreover, seldom, if ever, there appeared on the platform of the Students' Union a speaker of such dazzling brilliance whose speeches were models of excellence in respect of language, diction, eloquence, delivery and content. He had equal command over Urdu and English and his utterances were punctuated with copious quotations from sources, both religious and secular. He spoke less for producing an impression than for driving home a point forcefully, persuasively and convincingly. By dint of sheer merit, therefore, he succeeded in securing equal number of votes in the Vice-Presidential election to the Union against a senior several years older, with whom he shared the highest position open to a student, as Vice-President of the Union. As a student he was almost a prodigy, head and shoulders above his classmates. He was a favourite of the late Sirdar K.M. Panikkar who began his career in life as Professor of History at Aligarh in the early 20's. Thus he overcame every hurdle at college through merit and character. Moreover, there always was, at the college, a minority among veterans devoted to study and other serious pursuits. With high academic attainments to their credit, these seniors commanded respect on the campus and were listened to. This group was quick to discover a young man of unusual promise in Dr. Saiyidain and admitted him into their circle. Dr. Zakir Husain was the leader of this group at the time of whom Dr. Saiyidain says in his Convocation address to the Aligarh Muslim University in 1962, "It was here

that I saw Dr. Zakir Husain who was shaping his mind and personality into a thing of beauty". He not only saw Dr. Zakir Husain but came under the spell of his fascinating personality.

The earliest indication he gave of courage of conviction was to respond, together with Dr. Zakir Husain, to Gandhiji's call, in 1920, to the youth of the country to leave educational institutions aided by the foreign Government. The tumultous scene at the Students' Union Hall on the occasion dwells vividly in one's memory and the din of acclaim that greeted Dr. Saiyidain gesture rings in one's ears to this day. True, under compulsion by his family he rejoined college later but Gandhiji's message produced a lasting impression on his sensitive mind and has played a major role in shaping his personality.

Thus, winning laurels at University examinations at all levels, he graduated in 1923, being the first and only student to sit at the B.A. examination of the Aligarh Muslim University. His brilliant performances attracted the attention of Mr. Mackenzie, the then Director of Public Instruction of U.P. and earned him a Govt. Scholarship to proceed to Leeds for his M.Ed. While a student there, he had the rare privilege of speaking at one of the forums of the now defunct League of Nations where he made an impression on the leading statesmen of member-nations present. Back to his alma-mater, he was appointed the Professor of Education and the Principal of the Teachers' Training College at the University and had the distinction of being the youngest Principal in the country. It was here that, together with some of his colleagues, he participated in the formulation of Basic Education under the leadership of Dr. Zakir Husain.

In putting the Training College at Aligarh on a sound footing Dr. Saiyidain gave evidence of a rare combination of administrative ability and academic awareness. His vision as an educationist transcended the narrow limits of matters of routine like curricula, teaching methods, organisation etc. He became alive to the role of education in social reconstruction. He described the role of teachers in this undertaking thus: "Teachers should remember that, if they approach their work in the right spirit, bringing every aspect of their educational activity to bear on the object in view, they will be helping to bring about that psycholo-

gical revolution in the minds and spirits of their pupils which is a necessary condition for the emergence of any better social order. By exalting in every field of school work, cooperation above competition, creation above acquisitiveness, service above the lust for personal power and profit; and active intelligence and inquiry above passive assimilation of second-hand opinions—by developing, in short, a free and socially sensitive personality—they will not only enrich the lives of their pupils as individuals but also train disciplined workers and leaders in the cause of that better social order which should be the inspiration of all true workers in the service of the country".

The quotation admits us into the working of Dr. Saiyidain's mind *vis-a-vis* his approach to educational objective and provides a clue to the direction in which it moved and developed to his philosophy of education with the passage of time. Soon his reputation spread beyond the bounds of Aligarh and his gifts, experience and abilities were in demand in fields of heavier and more important responsibilities. The State of Jammu and Kashmir was the first to call him as the Head of its Education Department. Rampur followed. The State of Bombay, after independence, trusted him with the task of reorganising, the educational pattern of the State in accord with the ideals of free India. His career as a high executive was crowned by his installation, in the Union Ministry of Education, as Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's right-hand man. Meanwhile his contributions to educational thinking won him respect outside the country and attracted the attention of educationists of world fame. Accordingly, he was invited in the capacity of Visiting Professor, by the Teachers' College, Columbia University, New York, where he delivered the Julius and Rosa Sachs Endowments Fund Lectures in 1959. About the same time he was elected world President of New Education Fellowship. On retirement from the Ministry of Education, he was invited by the Jammu and Kashmir Govt. as Special Adviser to the State Cabinet in Education for a second time. After a year at this post he left for the Wisconsin University as Visiting Professor. It was here that a most poignant and shattering tragedy befell him. His life's partner died while she was looking after him in a foreign country. To say that Dr. Saiyidain was happily married would be an under-statement. Marriage

brought him into partnership with one of the Nature's rare handiworks. Born in a direct line of princes and princesses, and brought up in affluence and feudal pomp, Mrs. Saiyidain displayed an amazing degree of adaptability, adjustment and understanding to conditions where contentment was the substitute of plenty and where, interests in life centred round literary discussions and debates on problems of national significance. No words can give an adequate idea of her nobility of heart, spirit of sacrifice, balance of mind and readiness to succour the needy and the suffering. She gave Dr. Saiyidain a home and a family in the midst of which his gifts of intellect and heart found full expression. Maybe some day Dr. Saiyidain will present the world with a pen-picture of this 'gem of purest ray serene'.

At present, Dr. Saiyidain is lecturing at the East and West centre at Honolulu on Education*.

Dr. Saiyidain's rise to eminence as an educationist of international stature has given full display to the characteristics noted even in his student life as a freshman—planning, orderliness, application, earnestness of purpose, determination remarkable poise and balance of mind and a spirit of adjustment without surrendering fundamental principles. The rise may be described as his life's fulfilment and watching it over a period of four decades has been like sharing in this process.

But a portrayal of Dr. Saiyidain, limited to a mere cataloguing of traits and trends discernible even as he stood at the edge of adulthood as a freshman, would be inadequate without an attempt to supplement it with a brief statement of his social values, educational objectives and a passing reference to his world view. For, educators of vision and insight develop, consciously or unconsciously, a social philosophy which they consider essential for the realisation of their educational values. We discern this social awareness in Dr. Saiyidain beginning with his 'Iqbal's Educational Philosophy'. In its introduction on page 4, he says:

'Education, in its correct signification, must be visualised as the sum total of all the cultural forces which play on the life of a person or a community'. Proceeding further, on the next page,

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* Soon after this article was written he returned to India.

he reiterates the same idea thus: *'For, education is, after all, engaged in the process of critically evaluating and effectively transmitting the cultural heritage, knowledge and ideals of a social group to its growing members, thereby securing the continuity of their collective life and ensuring its intelligent, creative reconstruction'. Much of what Dr. Saiyidain postulates as the function of education in these quotations and in the book from which* these are taken may sound poetic and hence vague nebulous, and unreal, but they serve as indications of the social awareness that is gradually gripping his mind and imagination as an educationist. As his thinking over problems of education matures and his ideas on social organisation crystallize, he emerges as an advocate of socialism as the only system under which the educational objectives he formulates, can be realised. The following extract from his "Education, Culture and the Social Order" gives a vivid picture of the social order he envisages : '...if it is to be the inspiration of our educational reconstruction, it should be a social order which would exploit in the fullest measure the resources and possibilities of modern scientific technology, and try to eliminate all avoidable poverty and insecurity which afflict mankind today and condemn a majority of men and women to a harassed striving for a miserable and insecure livelihood. If improved scientific machines are wisely utilised to exploit natural resources and to reduce human suffering, it will not only be possible to do away with many of the evils of the present economic system, but also to provide for all that modicum of security and material comfort which is basic to the development of a full culture in which all, and not merely the few, can share. The existing social system stands irrevocably condemned because it keeps a large majority of mankind in ignorance and poverty denying to them fullness of life, while securing to a small minority and often an undeserving minority!—all the riches and the comforts of a materially advanced civilisation, such a socio-economic system cannot command our loyalty and allegiance as teachers or inspire our highest educational endeavour. The social order, to which we can pledge our loyalty, must attempt consciously to control the productive activities of scientific industry in the interests of society as a whole, must secure a real equality of opportunity

for individuals and groups and bring about a fairer distribution of the goods of life, both material and cultural. It should reject the claim of the acquisitive instinct and incentive as the only powerful and stable motives of human conduct[2].

To quote Prof. W. C. Smith, "He (Dr. Saiyidain) has recognised that to produce the good personalities for which Iqbal has pleaded, one must ask : "what is the social order which will favour and stimulate the growth of such an individual" ? He has been the first Muslim to recognise and emphasise the determinative influence on character of the social and economic system...He has been acutely aware of the stupidity and the moral loathsomeness of capitalism ; and he has pointed them out with scorn...The perversion of personality, the frustration, the meaninglessness of life, the individual helplessness, the fear, worry, and insecurity, the mutual competition and antagonism—all these products of capitalism are evil. Any one who supports such a system is wicked. The new personality which Iqbal preferred for attainment shall be attained : the strong and life-affirming individual ; courageous, tolerant, disciplined, free, active and powerful, and dedicated to the service of God, with whom and with its fellow-men it shares the task of creating a better world. This ideal is not impossible of achievement, provided Society is reconstructed—with cooperation instead of competition ; production for use instead of production for profit, more equal distribution, and the full exploitation of technology"[3].

Summing up we arrive at the conclusion that Dr. Saiyidain envisages a socialistic pattern of society "so as to develop creative intelligence, and adaptive thinking in the students, giving them the will and the capacity to evaluate critically the existing institutions and social processes and to take part actively in that 'continuous reconstruction of experience' which is the basis of all progress".[4]

But the conclusion arrived at poses a few problems which I would like to deal with in what follows :

Firstly, what is the content of the socialism Dr. Saiyidain advocates? Does it only mean 'redressing the balance between wealth and poverty ; the creation of the new personality Iqbal

wants to produce: the strong and *life-affirming* individual, courageous, tolerant, disciplined ; free, active and powerful, and dedicated to the service of God, with whom and with its fellow-men it shares the task of creating a better world, release of creative intelligence, stress on 'intuition', 'love', 'inner light' to 'discover reality in totality' rather than in fragments, as do reason and intellect. It would appear that the socialism Dr. Saiyidain envisages has two main facets namely, (1) materialistic ; (2) pseudomystic. To take the second first the supersession of reason and intellect by mystic vision is fraught with dangerous possibilities as it will be extremely hazardous to trust intuition, inner light, love as means of search for truth in a complex world such as ours. This process is likely to lead to predetermined results instead of leaving it open to the individual seeker after truth to arrive at them and test them in the crucible of experiment. What Iqbal and others of his way of thinking designate vision, insight and inner light are, in scientific parlance, *discovery through intense application of the method* of science rather than the sudden 'flashes' from some unknown source. The advocates of clairvoyance as, a means of knowing reality pay lip service to scientific method or have a vague notion of it. To quote Julian Huxley "Scientific method consists in demanding facts as the only basis for conclusions ; and of consistently and continuously testing any conclusion which may have been reached, against the test of new facts and wherever possible by the crucial test of experience". The confusion arises from interpreting manifestations of science in practical life as scientific. Socialism is an attitude of mind flowing from scientific thinking and resting for validity on scientific method as defined by Julian Huxley.

As for the materialistic aspect this can only be described as too trivial to be its only component. To advocate this aspect is to fall into the trap laid by the capitalist. What, on the other hand inspired socialist thinkers in the past was the crude and shameless materialism with which capitalism degraded the whole social life and denied human values. To quote from a recent publication on the subject :

"All the quantitative improvements which have so far been gained—less unemployment, higher wages, shorter working

hours, increased pensions and more money for social service, are essential. But they are only the preliminaries to the real struggle for qualitative changes, for a society with a different content combining a fuller life for everyone with some finer, more cooperative way of living together (20th Century Socialism by Socialist Union, p. 21). Capital and labour are supposed to be fighting for nothing more than the division of the product whereas in fact two distinct and opposing conceptions of the nature and destiny of man are ranged against each other. The socialist vision cannot be reduced to the familiar picture of a 'larger cake with bigger slices for all".

Judged by either standard, the vision Dr. Saiyidain holds out of socialism is inadequate. Scientific socialism can have no truck with unscientific method for achieving the goal of social reorganisation; nor is the content Dr. Saiyidain posits in his image of socialism, satisfying enough to inspire society for higher ends.

The next question we ask is : While pleading for the development of 'creative intelligence and adaptive thinking in the students, giving them the will and the capacity to evaluate critically the existing institutions......' have not our educators, among whom one reckons Dr. Saiyidain, been, in actual fact, engaged in converting our educational institutions into institutes for training all manner of technicians, to the neglect of producing men and women with convictions stemming from intelligent and disciplined thinking directed to a world view in accord with modern knowledge. Let me quote an eminent educationist to explain what I mean.

"While education is still spoken of as a preparation for life, the preparation is of a kind which bears less directly on intellect and character than in former times, and more directly on proficiency. It aims at what we used to call training rather than education......Education, in a word, leads a person on to ask a great deal more from life than life as at present organised, is willing to give him ; and it begets dissatisfaction with the rewards that life holds out. Training tends to satisfy him with very moderate and simple returns. A good income, a home and family, the usual run of comforts and conveniences, diversions addressed only to the competitive or sporting spirit or

else to raw sensation ; training not only makes directly for getting these, but also for an inert and comfortable contentment with them ; well, these are all that our present society has to offer ; so it is undeniably the best thing all round to keep people satisfied with them, which training does, and not to inject a subversive influence like education into this easy complacency".[6] A more vivid and accurate picture of prevailing trends in education and a more scathing indictment of capitalism for the vulgarity it has injected into it will be hard to find. The truth of the matter is, 'in a modern democratic society the primary function demanded of a college or university is that it prepares its students to earn a living'.[7] To educate, that is, to teach the young to evaluate critically the existing institution and social processes and to take part actively in that continuous reconstruction of experience as Dr. Saiyidain lays down, is tantamount to injecting subversive influence into young minds. No social order will permit its educational authorities to sponsor a system which will lead the educants to question the basic values on which it is founded. For, as Karl Jaspers in his 'The Ideal of the University' formulates :

"Formal education, like tradition, generally tends to be dependent upon particular forms of social organisation and the changes which a nation undergoes in the course of its history. The unifying factor in education reflects the dominance in each case of a given social body, e.g. church, class, nation. Education could be described as the manner by which these social bodies perpetuate themselves from generation to generation. Hence education becomes transformed when there are social revolutions. Moreover attempts at social innovations turn to pedagogical questions first. Because of this, considerations of the significance and methods of education inevitably include the larger question of State and Society."[8]

Or, as John Dewey declared :

"Social institutions, the trend of occupations, the pattern of social arrangements, are the finally controlling authorities".[8]

The point I wish to make is that educators the world over have to orient their educational objectives to the prevailing social values. This has been so through the centuries beginning

with the curriculum of the first school ever the Sumerians established 5000 years ago 'for training scribes required to satisfy the economic and administrative demands of the land, primarily those of the temple and palace'.[9]

Educators may develop social consciousness as an intellectual pastime but the majority remain conformist at heart either through conviction or as a matter of convenience. They sometimes evolve systems which end up in expensive failures. John Dewey stands out as a classical example of a man who more than anyone else had a clear idea of the changes American Society should undergo in order that human values could be commonly shared. One cannot claim that those changes have been effected. On the contrary, Dewey was publicly disowned for his unorthodox views not long after he died. We would like to know the success our policy-makers have achieved in the field of education since the country became independent. True, they have produced blue-prints in galore, none of which touches even the fringe of the problems—the problem being of providing our educational policy a goal and a direction.

Our educators have been indifferent to the fundamental need of evolving a curriculum that will provide 'our youth with a world-view. Is this indifference due to the fact that the only world view open to man today is one which should be in consonance with modern knowledge—scientific and historical or a view in conflict with the traditional outlook. I select these two disciplines for the simple reason that the Scientific Revolution started by Copernicus (when, in 1543, the Polish astronomer came forward with the startling theory that the earth moves in an orbit around the sun instead of the ancient belief that the stars, the sun, the moon and other planets revolved about the earth, and carried forward by Galileo's discovery in 1580 of the principles which govern the movement of a pendulum), basically implied a change in the way in which people pictured the world. It meant a profound change from a world of things ordered according to their ideal nature, to a world of events running in a steady mechanism of before and after. Intellectually men began to see the world differently, so that the process of nature and even of history came to have a different logic for him. The change manifested itself not only in the creation of modern

civilisation; the unfolding of scientific thought has brought about a new world outlook".[10] It has smashed old beliefs and upset time-honoured traditions. The change is total, decisive and inescapable.

And as for my stress on historical knowledge, I feel that ignorance—inevitable under the system of education our policy makers have followed, of the epoch-making discoveries of historical facts through archaeological excavations in the Middle Eastern region, in Egypt and in the land of the Inchas have changed man's perspective of judging many an ancient human institution, tradition and belief. The finds in these regions have dated recorded history back to six thousands years. They have changed our traditional views on man's appearance on the planet itself. Above all they provide us with a background against which we are able to understand world history shorn of myth and magic.

The most telling effect of these two epoch-making human activities has been the sense of humility they have generated in man in respect of his knowledge of the universe around him. He no longer arrogates to himself the audacious claim that he has, at his disposal, the final word on life and its conduct. These discoveries have opened up before him a new vista through which he catches a glimpse of the immense panorama of life and its secrets and proceeds in a spirit of adventure to unravel them. In his keenness to know reality 'as a whole' man invented concepts whose contents were in keeping with the knowledge of those days. While the contents have no relevance to modern knowledge we tend to cling to them out of inertia. It is the duty of educators to present to young minds a view of life which will be in harmony with the knowledge they acquire in the class, in the laboratory and the library, and not at sharp variance with it. The latter process creates a dualism in young minds and deprives them of a coherent picture of the changing world around them. As an eminent educationist remarks:

'It is important that there should be a framework of leading ideas that will really help young people to see life steadily and see it whole. It must be one that does sort with our present knowledge incomplete though that may be and incomplete though it will remain. What the young need to know as soon

as they pass from the earliest years of childhood is what they are, what mankind is, and how mankind fits into the universe around us. The leading idea here should surely be the continuing story of humanity, continuing back into the past through the history of evolution of life, to the story of evolution of the universe and continuing forward towards the idea of one humanity conscious of its unity and of its collective responsibility for life on the planet. This kind of leading concept alone can now give unity to education that educationists have been crying for' (The Humanist Frame, ed. Julian Huxley). Any other world view will breed superficiality and double-mindedness.

Seen against the background of what one conceives to be the social order, educational objectives and world view adequate for our age, we find that Dr. Saiyidain emerges as a believer in ethical socialism ; in Iqbal's philosophy of education based on Bergsonian concept of ceaseless change of human individuality through the instrumentality of *elan* vital or Aristotle's 'entelechy' and a world-view built on eternal verities. Now, we have seen that education being the hand-maiden of society, cannot adopt measures for effective change in social organisation. Another reason why it cannot do so is that our educationists have been providing for training in efficiency and not for education. Much more vigorous effort at different levels has to be made for achieving this objective. A spirit of militant inquiry must be injected into young minds in order to create a spirit of challenge. Our educationists, including Dr. Saiyidain, discountenance such an approach. They fight shy of a break with tradition. Like the Fabians they believe in gradualism and like them they will never achieve their objective. These educationists are basically conformists, afraid of fundamental and decisive change ; or perhaps they suffer from what Whithead describes as 'inertia in ideas'. Politics remains the framework of our life today ; its ideals alone can function as sources of inspiration for social change. Dr. Saiyidain and his colleagues have laboured for nearly four decades without producing any perceptible change in the educational outlook or creating any inpression on young minds. If anything, they have produced generations skilled in the art of living a life of dualism and in the skills effecting convenient compromises. The obvious

explanation of this sorry state of affairs is that our educationists have contented themselves with preaching high ideals without stirring their little finger to produce the climate in which these ideals can be achieved. They have indeed disfavoured any attempt by anyone else to create among the young a spirit of non-conformism and challenge. The victory has been theirs because they enjoyed the patronage of the prevailing social order and of the community. Their liberalism has remained confirmed to inessentials instead of being based on a clear repudiation of the outmoded beliefs. Dr. Saiyidain's social upbringing, his piety, his extreme goodness of heart, his sense of decency and loyalty have prevented Dr. Saiyidain from carrying his intellectual awareness to its logical end. Like his preceptor Iqbal, Dr. Saiyidain's approach to problems of life appears to suffer from a lack of sense of history,and like Iqbal again,Dr. Saiyidain has confused scientific outlook with scientific discoveries. This serious lacuna in his mental make-up, one suspects, is responsible for his unqualified attachment to beliefs in their pristine purity and to his presentation of different patterns of culture so enthusiastically. Surely no culture is without dark spots and it is our duty to inculcate in young minds a spirit of relative evaluation rather than uncritical acceptance of our heritage. Lastly, as he himself has pointed out, on more than one occasion, our endeavours should be directed to emphasising the unity of world culture in a fast-contracting world instead of stressing the differences. To quote Julian Huxley again : 'We no longer have much choice in the matter of whether we shall have an ideological plurality or an ideological unity ; economic and political exigencies, nuclear energy development and the erosion of cultural barriers, are bringing us to the place where, if there is to be any world at all, it will have to be a more unified world. The supreme problem of the contemporary world is now to bring into being a new simplicity, a unitary system of ideas based on the minimal core of beliefs, values, and institutions which will do for our time. In other words our problems is to formulate the workable philosophy which may guide the embryogenesis of the coming world civilisation'.

This is the philosophy which our educators should incorporate n their educational values if civilisation itself is to be saved from

total destruction. There is little room for pluralism of outlook. In any event our endeavour should aim at narrowing rather than widening cultural differences. The irony of the situation is that Dr. Saiyidain is moved by the same missionary zeal in the pursuit of an ideal which characterised his saintly father with the difference that his deal is cast in the mould of contemporary social needs; but Dr. Saiyidain's approach to ideals and values has not been oriented to dynamism. Having reached a point in his intellectual development he has not proceeded further in the light of ever increasing knowledge of the day. That explains the barrenness of his life long endeavour to make education an instrument for social improvement. He unfortunately insists on permanence of values ignoring the basic fact that even values have been transforming themselves under the impact of new knowledge. Dewey had realised this fact and came to feel that in the light of the doctrine of evolution, moral judgements are to be regarded as hypotheses for experimentation rather than as absolute principles. In any essay on 'Darwinism and Philosophy' he declared that "Darwinian logic transforms intellectual problems by shifting them from an intelligence that shaped things once for all, to the particular intelligence which things are even now shaping shifts from an ultimate goal of good to the direct increment of justice and happiness that intelligent administration of existent conditions beget and that present carelessness or stupidity will destroy or forego"[11]. On the contrary Dr Saiyidain is a firm believer in 'eternal values' or 'eternal verities' to quote from his Introduction to 'Andhi-men-Chirag' "and it is essential that we should give correct lead to the young and the adults so that the good of posterity may not be jeopardised ; that is, their head and heart may be brought into close association with eternal values on which rests the welfare of humanity". In conclusion it is pointed out that all those who are concerned with the future of our civilisation should inform themselves of the rapid changes that are taking place not only in the world of matter but also in the world of human psychology. As a matter of fact there is casual relation between the two phenomena or shall I say a constant inter-action. Unless we bring our thinking in line with this new development in thought, we will be leading our young men and women to chaos.

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11

My Friend Khwaja Ghulam-us-Saiyidain

By S. M. AHSAN KAZIMI

I regard K. G. Saiyidain as a close friend. We were in the same University for four years and in the same hostel for two years.

I am not writing history or even a biography. I am just giving a few personal impressions. K. G. Saiyidain is an eminent humanist, educationist, scholar, writer, speaker administrator—a versatile genius so to say. He is undoubtedly one of our best writers. He writes equally well in English and Urdu. In 1962 he won the award of the SAHITYA AKADEMI (The National Academy of Letters) for the best creative work in the Urdu language. His alma mater the Aligarh University conferred on him the degree of D. Litt. honoris causa.

In the very first year of his college life on the occasion of his installation as Secretary of the Junior Debating Society, the University poet had sung :

"معدن جودت غلام السیدین نامور
جس نے یہاں آ کر جمایا سکۂ علم و ہنر"
"اسکی ہمدم گر رہی توفیق رب ذوالجلال
نام پائیگا ہماری قوم کا یہ نو نہال"

............The noted Ghulam-us-Saiyidain, a mine of intelligence, has made his mark in scholarship and learning in this University. By the grace of God this young scion of our nation will earn a name for himself in the world. And the prophecy came true !

After four years K. G. Saiyidain was elected the Vice-President of the Students' Union at Aligarh and two years later became the Premier of the Students' Parliament in the Leeds University in England.

Had Saiyidain entered politics he would have won power and influence over great masses of people. But he preferred to work in the cultural and educational fields and win the hearts of a small number of men who matter in the world of values.

Between 1923 and 1963 I happened to meet the Khwaja four or five times, and always found him as cheerful and sociable as in the good old days in the Varsity. Age and learning have bestowed on him a healthy maturity of ideas and made him more serious and serene but by no means a bore or a prig. He is undoubtedly one of the most amiable men I have ever met.

K. G. Saiyidain combines great learning with humility. He has been a seeker of knowledge as a student, as a teacher and as the holder of the highest office in the educational service of his country and has always tried to use the knowledge which he acquires in the service of his nation and of humanity at large. May God grant him many more years of a full contented and useful life.

12

A Pupil's Tribute

By MIRZA SAJJAD ALI KHAN

I tried to find one word which would describe Dr. Saiyidain's relationship to me but I realised that it was not possible. He is my teacher, my friend and my father, all in one.

Mastery over his subject, general knowledge of the various spheres of learning keeping abreast of the latest scientific discoveries and technical developments, sympathetic, tolerant and encouraging attitude to his students, eloquent and ready speech wit are some of the basic qualities of a good teacher. Dr. Saiyidain possesses them in abundant measure.

When he came to the Aligarh Muslim University as Professor of Education and Principal of the Teachers' Training College, he was by far the youngest among his colleagues and younger than some of his students. Partly in fun, and partly in affection they called him "The boy Principal". But before long they were so profoundly impressed, and but for his simplicity, gentleness and modesty would have been so overwhelmed by his intellectual and moral stature that the audacity to use the nick name was knocked out of them.

Dr. Saiyidain was as much a friend of his students as he was their teacher and this relationship continued even after they had left the college and entered the wider sphere of life. Dr. Saiyidain constantly kept in touch with them. He gave them valuable advice and material as well as moral support when they needed it. He helped them to widen their intellectual horizon by suggesting to them the books they should read and often lent or presented to them the latest publications in subjects of their special interest.

As far as I am concerned he always treated me as a favoured friend and to my great embarrassment introduced me to his high-placed visitors with the words: "This is Sajjad an old friend of

mine". Whatever success I have had in my career as an educationist I owe to his patronage. He was prepared to do and actually did everything in his power to further my legitimate interests. But he never encouraged me to claim more than my due place in life or to indulge in false hopes. Whenever I asked him for something above my desert or beyond his capacity, he would say gently but frankly and firmly "No, I am afraid I cannot do it". Besides, he never allowed me or even those nearest and dearest to him to take any undue advantage of his high position.

I began by saying that Dr. Saiyidain was not only my teacher and my friend but also a father to me. Let me explain what I mean. I had lost my father when I was a mere fledgeling of fifteen and must have been subconsciously hungering for paternal love, all the more so because there was no one in my family to guide me or to help me in my serious financial difficulties. Friendless and alone I had to pass through a miserable time for several years before I came to the University and during my first days in the University Dr. Saiyidain was the Principal of the Training College which I had joined as a resident student. He must have been watching me and must have guessed the nature of my trouble. For one day when I was feeling unusually depressed in his class, he said to me "I know what ails you. I should like to see you in my room." In the dim light of the retiring room attached to his office he had a heart-to-heart talk with me. After half an hour or so I felt I was a different man. The financial worries that had been sapping my mental energy had evaporated. Life now appeared to me worth living after all, and the teaching profession to be the best, the noblest and the most exciting of all professions. Were not the founders of great religions teachers *par excellence*?

I was not the only one to benefit from Dr. Saiyidain's paternal care. There were others in whose personal affairs he took an equally keen interest. He tried to make a secret of his benevolence. But we were neither ungrateful nor discreet and most of us talked about it to our friends—confidentially, of course. Soon it was an open secret in the College.

Thus Dr. Saiyidain and his friends formed not only an academic community but an affectionate family to which I am proud

to belong. May the father of the family, Khwaja Ghulam-us-Saiyidain live long to guide us along the path of duty to our nation and to humanity at large! May God give us all the strength and the will to maintain the honour and dignity of the family!

13

Thanks, Bhaijan!

BY KHWAJA AHMED ABBAS

A prophet is seldom honoured at home, a genius is often recognized by the whole world before his own family acknowledges his worth, but since my childhood, "Bhaijan" (literally 'Dear Brother') has continued to be my hero as well as my ideal, the one shining symbol of perfection to which I always secretly aspired. The earliest recollections of my childhood are replete with the memories of his astonishing series of academic triumphs. First Class First in Punjab Matriculation. The youngest graduate from Aligarh —and again First Class First. A champion debater and orator, and at the same time a good tennis player. Editor of the University Magazine with already a distinctive literary style, both in Urdu and English. After graduation he could have easily got into the I.C.S. and climbed to the highest rungs of the Bureaucracy. But with characteristic idealism he chose the career of an educationist and, with a Government scholarship, proceeded to Leeds for a Master of Education degree. One of the first Indian students to distinguish himself in a British University, he again secured First Class First and returned to his *alma mater* to join the Teachers' Training College as the youngest Professor in the University. He was barely twenty-one and with his trim good looks, bright eyes and a thick mop of black hair, he looked more like an undergraduate than a member of the Faculty.

One of the most vivid memories of my boyhood—and one of the most formative influences which moulded my own destiny—was the debate that was held in Aligarh in 1925 on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of the Mohemmedan Anglo-Oriental College, the precursor of the Muslim University. The cream of the Muslim intelligentsia was present on the occasion. Saiyidain who had just returned after his academic triumphs in England was given the honour to open the Jubilee debate under the auspices

of the University Union. He chose a subject which was then, as it is forty years later, of vital significance to the Muslims of India. He moved in effect that Indian Muslims should not organise themselves politically on communal lines but must work together with the nationalists of other communities for the freedom and progress of the nation as a whole. He made a short and persuasive opening speech. Then came an oratorical barrage of opposition from the Big Guns of Muslim politics assembled on the dais—including Mr. M.A. Jinnah, the Aga Khan and Sir Ali Imam, each one of them a formidable host unto himself. They spoke with power and passion, and patronizingly dismissed the arguments of the youthful mover of the proposition as irresponsible youthful idealism. I remember Saiyidain sitting in a corner, seemingly overwhelmed by the powerful and authoritative voices of his elders, but furiously taking notes. Then came the climatic moment when he rose to reply to the debate. I was too young then to fully comprehend the trend of his arguments, but even an eleven-year old boy could sense the power and passion with which the flow of his eloquence was charged. The impact of that speech must have left a deep impression on my sub-conscious because since then, even as a boy, I could never be swayed by the passion-filled arguments of the communalists. If the secular and humanist concept of life has remained an integral part of my own personal credo, I owe it first of all to that speech and subsequently to the years I spent in school and university under the personal guardianship of Saiyidain. To the same influence I owe also the awakening of my intellectual curiosity, the taste I developed for literature, drama and the arts.

But to revert to the climax of that debate, Saiyidain succeeded by the sheer weight of his arguments and the persuasive power of his eloquence to trounce the formidable array of his distinguished opponents. His proposition was 'carried' by an overwhelming majority, and Mr. Jinnah took at least ten years to recover from the shock of that defeat which he suffered in the presence of the most representative gathering of Muslim intelligentsia.

Since that day to this date, "Bhaijan" has been the lode star of my life. I have learnt to look up to him, though on occasions the Olympian heights of his integrity have seemed like an

unattainable ideal. I have not always agreed with him, but he is so disarmingly reasonable and rational that it is difficult also to disagree with him. His idealistic devotion to the cause of education which he has made his own sometimes gives him the semblance of a one-track mind. But it is not so. His interests range from Poetry to Politics, from Islamic Metaphysics to Modern American Drama—he will put down a tome on Philosophy to take up the latest issue of *Punch*.

Indeed, what saves this great intellectual and erudite scholar from being a pedantic snob and, therefore, a bore, is his unfailing and delightfully infectious sense of humour. During the many years I spent under his roof and under his guardianship, I remember, the conversation round the dining table was always lively, witty, enlivened by the humorous and meaningful anecdote, the epigramatic turn of phrase, and the occasional flash of irony and satire. For us it was a daily intellectual exercise to sit at that table; the conversation would range across the seven seas and encompass all the seven arts, and woe unto the ignorant young man who did not know the difference between Einstein and Epstein and confused both of them with Eisenstein. They say that to be a Barrister one must consume so many dinners at the Inns of Court. But I have no doubt that I learnt more at that dining table, presided over by Bhaijan, than from all the lectures I had to suffer in our class-rooms.

Above all else, from him I learnt to love books, to love life in all its varied manifestations, I learnt that it was possible to be serious-minded without taking oneself too seriously. It is to those 'literary' meals I shared with Bhaijan that I owe the development of my interest in writing. My very first amateurish attempts at literary composition were corrected by Bhaijan who had a great editor's gift of being able to improve the construction of a sentence beyond recognition by the merest touch of the proverbial blue pencil.

There is much that I owe to Bhaijan but, above all else, I owe to him the perception of the purpose of life—to seek knowledge without pedantry, to serve fellow-humans without assuming patronizing or supersilious airs, to enjoy a joke even at one's own expense, to laugh *with* others and not laugh *at* others.

It is difficult to believe that Bhaijan is sixty years old. It seems only the other day that he was having that memorable debate with Jinnah and Ali Imam. Most of my life, since I began to lose my hair, I have been mistaken to be his "*elder* brother"—though, in fact, I am ten years younger.

Saiyidain's fresh, youthful look, like the perennial youth of Jawaharlal Nehru, is not merely a physical phenomenon. This remarkable 'freshness' comes from inner peace which only those few fully integrated human beings can experience who know what is their duty and also know that they *are* doing it.

And, therefore, from my own frontier of a tired and faded Fifty I can only call out across the chasm of time: "Thanks, Bhaijan. And many, many happy returns of the day!"

Part III

GENERAL CONTRIBUTIONS

14

Three Concepts of a University

BY F. CYRIL JAMES

Miss Catherine Drinker Bowen's biography of *Francis Bancon* is an interesting book. Seven years ago, in *The Lion and the Throne*, Miss Bowen gave us a memorable biography of Sir Edward Coke who, during the latter part of the Elizabethan Age in England, and the early reign of James I, was always at odds with Francis Bacon. They were ambitious for the same job in the government, they were both outstanding lawyers and both sought to marry the same woman. Except for the short years from 1617-1621, when Bacon was Lord Chancellor of England, Coke was much the more successful. There can be no doubt that he comprised more fully within him the spirit of the times that were leading up to the Cromwellian Rebellion and the mighty growth of Parliamentary power in England.

In that biography of Coke, Miss Bowen dealt as scurvily with Bacon as have most other writers. 'Crafty', she calls him; 'Clever, restless and ambitious'. But, after seven years' reflection, she seems to have come to the conclusion—this new book is evidence—that Francis Bacon deserves further consideration. There is more to him than the half-forgotten legend; it may even be that, when all the evidence is fairly weighed, he was a greater man, in terms of long-range history than Edward Coke, although his contemporaries did not recognise that fact. It is worth remembering that—after Shakespeare—Bacon is probably the best remembered name from all that galaxy that shed lustre upon the Elizabethan age in England.

This is not the beginning of an historical essay, nor are these paragraphs designed to enlarge the sales of Miss Bowen's latest book—although it is worth reading. The biography of Francis Bacon has had, on my personal thinking, an effect that the author could never have intended and set me wondering whether, in

regard to the function and purpose of universities, there is not in many of our own minds at this moment in history a conflict as deep—and as dangerous—as that between Bacon and Coke; whether we, too, ought not to pause a moment and attempt a new evaluation.

In every country in the world today, men believe that higher education has a significant influence on the rate of economic development. This belief underlies the world-wide demand for the expansion of university institutions—in number and in size—and it also justifies the steadily-growing demands on the public purse to finance this development.

Africa, where the problems of economic and political development are starkly clear, was the area where this idea germinated rapidly from the seed of an economic hypothesis into an article of universal faith. The report of Sir Eric Ashby's Royal Commission on Nigeria—scarcely five years ago—has become a kind of Bible, and Professor Tinbergen's Report to the Trananarive Conference on Higher Education in Africa extended the same pattern of thought to all the countries in the middle and northern areas of that continent. But, if Africa was the seed-bed, we must realise that the new philosophy has taken root in every other part of the world from North America, across Europe and the Middle East to Indonesia and China. There is a scarcely a contemporary document on higher education—in any language—that does not state, or imply, that higher education is a potent factor in economic growth.

Nobody today denies this thesis; it is contributing mightily to university development in all countries. When we examine it carefully, however, we become aware that there are two sharply contrasting concepts of university development hidden within this general argument.

The first concept is that associated in our minds with the U.S.S.R.—the careful planning of future manpower (and woman-power) requirements in regard to all conceivable professional activities from ballet-dancing to zoology, and the proportional development of institutions of higher education to train precisely the numbers of people that will be needed in each of these fields, five, ten or twenty years' hence. Nobody can deny the tremend-

ous, and successful, expansion of higher education throughout the U.S.S.R. that has resulted from this planning during the past twenty years, nor can we deny the great contribution of universities to the economic and cultural development of that vast country. We must, however, realise that the Russian concept of a university, inherent in this pattern, implies that the development of institutions of higher education should be planned, in the most careful detail, to meet the needs of the State as envisaged by National Planning Commissions. Government decides which universities, which faculties and which departments shall expand, and to what extent. It determines the number of available places for students in each field of study and—as a corollary—precise control of the number of students to be admitted to each course is an essential part of this pattern. Admission is competitive and, so far as lies within the power of the educational authorities to determine intellectual ability, only the most brilliant students are admitted to a course of study which, without question, leads to substantial ultimate economic rewards, for the individual as well as advantage for the country as a whole.

Over against what I have, for convenience, labelled the Russian ideal of a university (the concept is not confined to the U.S.S.R.) there exists within the general philosophy of higher education devoted to economic development a sharply contrasting concept. Let me, for simplicity, call it American. It accepts, as wholeheartedly as the Russian concept, the thesis that more university graduates will be needed in the future to accelerate the rate of economic growth—but it does not envisage precise national planning of university activities. The universities—in theory at any rate—are free to determine the pattern of their own development, which faculties to expand and by how much. Nor does this American concept attempt in any precise fashion to direct students into particular channels of professional training. It assumes that the personal taste of the students, influenced by competitive factors in the employment market, will steer them more or less accurately into those fields of study most important to national development. It is, as one would expect, a more 'laissez-fair' approach and—to cite a specific example from outside the United States—Lord Robbin's Commission on Higher Education is quite content at the end of its long labours to state simply that the

number of university places in Great Britain should, by the 1980-81 Session, be at least two and a half times a numerous as they were in 1962, without attempting any precise analysis of the type of graduate that will be required or the type of institution needed to educate them.

There are tremendous differences between these two concepts of a university, in spite of the fact that both are based on the philosophy that higher education contributes to the economic development of the nation. The concepts contrast sharply on the matter of university autonomy; they differ in regard to the possibility of the existence of private universities or religious foundations; they differ in regard to the extent of detailed government intervention. Only in one thing are they identical: the thesis that universities contribute to national development and must be expanded rapidly to serve the needs of the community. This thesis even spills over into the generous programme to assist foreign students—or to assist the development of universities in other countries—which are offered both by the United States and the U.S.S.R. These programmes tend to be heavily influenced by what, for want of a better phrase, I must call "cultural imperialism", and this "cultural imperialism" equally influences the programmes of less powerful nations like France and the United Kingdom.

Let us pause a moment to realise that this philosophy that regards universities as engines to serve the needs of national development is not entirely new. It began with Napoleon's reorganisation of French education, to preserve and promulgate the philosophy of the Revolution; it was intensified in Bismarck's Germany in a deliberate effort to augment the economic power of the state; it was applied effectively in Stalinist Russia.

Only during the past decade, however, has this philosophy of higher education as a factor in ecomomic development become a kind of universal political dogma and spread to every country in the world. The widespread acceptance of this philosophy is a conscious decision of our own generation. It is our own thinking that I call in question.

Are we guilty of a logical fallacy of assuming that, because universities undoubtedly contribute to national development, it is

the growth of the state that is the primary purpose for which they exist? That, in our generations, could be the final—and fatal—*trahison des cleres.*

What of the third—much older—concept of a university as an institution that recognised no sovereign frontiers to knowledge, a community of scholars devoted to the search for truth even when that truth was not consonant with national propaganda or contemporary ideology. Have we discarded that traditional concept because we find it no longer valid, or have we simply forgotten it for reasons of political expediency—realising that when national and provincial governments provide most of the money for higher education, it is the goals of provincial and national development that have the more urgent appeal to those who hold the pursestrings?

I cannot answer that question for anybody else; each of us must do his own thinking. When I examine my own conscience, however, I am inclined to think that we have been swept along by the march of events (a hectic march!) since 1939 and have had little time to meditate conscientiously upon the right answer to this question.

The world—and particularly the universities of the world cannot allow the decision to go by default. Almost two centuries have passed since Benjamin Franklin, toward the end of the debates in the American Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia, said: "We must all hang together or we shall hang separately". What he said so rightly and cogently of the men from what were then the thirteen rebellious colonies, seeking ways in which to bring the United States to birth, applies in even greater measure to all of us in this our generation.

Technology—whether we like it or not—is creating a single world community. Today one can travel round the globe by jet aircraft in a much shorter period than it took to travel from London to Paris—or from Delhi to Lahore—a century ago. Less than a year ago, men and women in London, Paris, and even Moscow—sat and watched President Kennedy's funeral on television at the very moment at which it was happening in Washington. In simple fact, we in this generation must create a world-wide community of thought and understanding, so that

mankind can live at peace on this globe that technology has shrunken, or leave our children with the high probability that civilisation as we know it will perish in some future holocaust of fratricidal war.

Where else but in universities can this concept of a world society be developed and nurtured.

It will not be easy. Within Canada, to cite my own country first, there is not yet one single textbook of Canadian history that is accepted as valid and complete by both French-speaking Canadians and English-speaking Canadians. Canadians have not, in three centuries, come to understand one another that well. Spreading our search more widely, there is no single history of the growth of civilisation on the North American continent that is regarded as valid and comprehensive alike by British, French, Canadian and American scholars—still less does there exist anywhere in the world a history of the Russian Revolution acceptable to scholars on both sides of the Iron Curtain. Is there available anywhere in the world a history of the long development of civilisation on the Indian sub-continent that would satisfy both Hindu and Muslim scholars, as well as the scholars from all those other races and nations that have, at one stage or another, played some part on Indian history? Is there today a scholar who is preparing himself to write such a book?

In a generation when more countries that were once colonies have achieved independence and sovereignty than in any other period of human history, there are, so far as I know, no studies of the economic and political development of African, Asian and South American countries that measure, with impartiality, the good things that imperialist powers may have done during their regime, against the harm that was caused by measures of exploitation that they permitted or even encouraged. It will certainly not be easy to search for truth intensively enough to achieve international understanding and an international conscience.

It will not be cheap. Questions of the kind that I am asking—questions of fundamental importance to us all—cannot be answered nor can international understanding be matured and developed, by occasional short conferences. They will not be answered by the occasional migration of students and

professors. These things help. Greater, and more systematic, study of spoken foreign languages would also help in these days of fast travel, of world wide radio and television.

The basic job, however, is that of penetrating scholarship, especially in the fields of history and philosophy, supported by resources of library, documentation and travel greater than are now available at any but a small number of very wealthy universities. There must be resources adequate to provide not only for research as well as the travel of outstanding scholars and scientists engaged on this task, but to guarantee them peace of mind for meditation. When those scholars hold university posts, they must have teaching loads light enough to provide them with the opportunity for true scholarship.

There is no suggestion here of a return to the cloister or the ivory tower. The university that has the kind of international consciousness for which I am hoping must be open to streams of new thought—and old prejudices—that flow from every corner of the world. It must be alive to all the subtle changes in the climate of opinion. There is, however, a suggestion that we must, in some, at least, of the universities of the world, try to provide for outstanding scientists and scholars something of the opportunities that the cloisters once offered—an escape from day-to-day problems in order to meditate upon eternal verities.

Here, then, are three concepts of what a university should be, three differing definitions of its function. Universities certainly contribute to the economic development—and to the military strength—of a nation, whether they follow the pattern of the United States or of the U.S.S.R. Higher education is urgently demanded in every one of the new countries of the world, because governments realise that it will hasten the pace at which they can catch up to the economic and social standards of the older countries.

It seems likely, however, that economic development—significant as it is—may be less important to our generation than the maintenance of that peace and understanding throughout the world which is necessary to permit economic development to continue. Perhaps it is time that those who are interested in the contribution of universities to the welfare of mankind should stop a moment, in the rush and turmoil of development

programmes, to meditate again upon that third—and older—concept of a university as a place where men learn to think and to search for truth—a centre of international consciousness—before we commit ourselves too deeply to the modern philosophy.

15

The International Man

BY JOHN J. BROOKS

Perhaps chiliads from today historians of that period will refer to this era as the century of the "international man", just as today we look back upon the "Renaissance Man".

Men of both eras represent the product of many powers, many pressures, and certain personalities—all trysting together at one point in history.

The man of the earlier period was excited by acts of exploration. He was fumbling his way out to new frontiers of geography. He tested the untried and untrue postulates of ancient science. He modelled new intellectual hats and paraded in a variety of cultural costumes, quickly assumed and discarded.

He listened to the pounding of his own blood, and put its rhythms into poetry. His concern with the new science of anatomy led to new masterpieces on canvas.

He made quick sorties into new territory involving divergent pathways to God and new meeting places for man.

The international man (without the historic accolade of capital letters) is not so concerned with the unknown, as he is dismayed by the disuse or misuse of the newly-known. He stands, scratching his head, before the vast stockpile of new knowledge, trying to pull out those elements that will prevail against the human predicament.

Beyond putting knowledge to work in the cause of our species, the task of the international man is to become the excellent citizen of his time. This becomes a complex task when one is a resident of many geographic, political, ideological and social parishes.

Such a man must feel at ease with himself, his commodity, his changing cultures, and the changing neighbourhoods of his world.

Professor K.G. Saiyidain is the international man in the sense of the finest elements that can be crowded into that phrase.

Living, learning, and growing in a great complex of social contentions, he is able to view them as elements rather than as dissidents in a pattern. He can view them as curricula for "Education, Culture and the Social Order".

To be an international man (as opposed to the self-conscious "internationalist") is to be something more than a tourist who goes window-shopping the cultures of the world.

Perhaps "neighbouring" is the word. The international man is one who has a deep sense of the *nighness* of his species. He understands that fences may be necessary, but they are also for leaning on.

The international man may speak only his own language, but the vocabulary of his behaviour is an easy idiom understood by all.

He does not achieve his identity with others through quick changes of national costumes or by conscious cultural mimicry. He moves easily among the differences of all nations, because he is sharply aware of and related to the amazing differences that exist within his own culture.

To be the international man, one does not have to view all nations and all peoples with a romantic and uncritical eye. The international man is a neighbouring man, despite the fact that he sees reflected in other cultures those faults that are in his own cultural heritage, and perhaps a few new ones.

The international man does not champion the weak, but speaks for wisdom; he does not condemn the strong, but reasons for the responsibilities of power. He knows that empires as well as outposts can choose to be on the side of God.

If the international man is to be persuasive in times to come, how shall we develop him?

To love our neighbour is not enough. This is to be the amateur in the game of world peril.

We must find ways through schools as in other educational institutions, to bring to the social sciences and the humanities the deep sense of query, of information, of intellectual discipline that is now being applied to mathematics and science under a methodology appropriate for them.

We must turn to the great stockpile of knowledge, newly-developed, which awaits incorporation in school materials.

We must find ways in which to join the poet's prescience with the archeologist's artifacts—and all the growing powers of many disciplines to build the schools that can help to build the citizen for a new century.

That citizen attends our kindergartens today. He will spend his years of greatest power and influence in the 21st Century. The character of this man will give character to the time.

Schools must continue to build manpower.

But their first assignment is to help build mankind.

The international man must help provide directions to the crossroads of mankind.

Illiteracy—A Shame and an Opportunity

BY M.S. ADISESHIAH

Saiyidain was one of the creative persons who conceived of the programme of Social Education in this country. At Bombay, as Educational Adviser, he devoted a part of his time to devising a state plan of Social Education and supervised its execution. The concept of social education, as conceived by Saiyidain, is a complex and many-sided weapon. It is first and foremost an end in itself: helping every individual to realize his potential and enjoy the business of living. It is also a means to an end, forming an integral part of the national development plan of the country, whereby each adult can become a gainful citizen, contributing to the increase in the productive capacity and the living standard of the country. In this complex and many-sided architecture of national development, literacy is the foundation of the entire edifice. Saiyidain realized the key role which literacy plays in individual, national and international life, the horizon for fuller and happier lives it offers to the individual and communities, and his contribution throughout his life to this key area of human life is, for me, an important and precious one. I can therefore do no better, in this commemoration volume, to express my feelings towards Saiyidain, than refer in world terms to the shame and challenge which illiteracy in our world—a world of highly developed technologies and satellite communications—represents.

Looking at the literacy situation in our world, there is one worrying and disturbing fact which strikes me and which I can only express as a tragic contradiction. On the one hand, we have before us perhaps the most heart-rending and perplexing human problem: In a world of 1½ billion adults, we have some 700 million illiterates. Further, we have in the so-called economically

less developed countries, of the 200 million primary school age child population, around 100 million illiterates. In other words, 50% of the adult population of the world, and 50% of the primary school population of our world, are illiterates. The adult literacy problem is even more serious than the 50% figure shows. In the three economically under-developed areas of Africa, Asia and Latin America—70 to 80% of the adults are illiterate. Further, the population expansion which characterizes our times means that, although the percentage may show some slight improvement, the total number of illiterates is increasing. Thirdly, the school percentage figure is something of a mirage. It is based on school enrolment statistics which hide the terrible problem of school drop-outs and wastage, which is the main feeder of Adult Illiteracy. In some countries 70 to 80% of children drop out after the first school year and join the army of illiterates. I will not mention here the consequences of illiteracy, which is in effect just a form of the disease of blindness, and of what it means to the individual and to the society. This mass problem is well-known to the educator, who lives and moves, and has his being daily in it. So, we have, on the one hand, a grave and challenging problem which, by any standard of the twentieth century, should not be allowed to exist, and certainly cannot be accepted.

On the other hand, I know from the massive documentation of Unesco on this subject, that by and large, little is being done in our world today to deal with this problem, despite certain outstanding exceptions. The countries of Europe and North America have liquidated illiteracy, and for them the problem is to maintain and expand functional literacy. Again, within this group of countries, there are those who, under revolutionary circumstances, proceeded to eliminate illiteracy in an incredibly short span of time. But the agonizing problem I refer to is not that of Europe or North America; it is the problem of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. In those three great regions where the 800 million illiterates live today, little is being done or planned, commensurate with the magnitude of the human and social consequences of this vast problem of illiteracy. This is underlined further by the fact that the 70 countries of those three regions have made courageous decisions with regard to primary education.

All children will be in school by 1980. By 1980, there will be no 100 million primary school age illiterates. There is no such comparable movement with regard to the 700 million adult illiterates. From this one can only conclude that there is not the national will, nor the national motivation, to liquidate adult illiteracy, as there is to provide schooling for all. Therefore, I believe that the first task facing us, in designing a world campaign for literacy is to recognize that at the root of our problem is the absence of a firm and clearly established and accepted will in governments, peoples and societies, to liquidate illiteracy and achieve continuing education.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the technique of planning is almost wholly absent in its application to this vast and pressing problem of illiteracy. Planning of limited resources, the technique of allocation of resources as between different sectors of society, required by the political. economic, social and cultural aspirations and objectives of a country, although of recent origin, has been used over the past half-century. However, this technique, which could help to establish targets country by country, sector by sector, region by region, mobilize and allocate resources, has not been and is not being applied to the literacy sector.

At this point, looking at the evidence and the history of literacy programmes, some attention may be given to what is in some sense a doctrinal issue, which would vitally affect the form and methodology of planning. There seems to be two approaches to the liquidation of the illiteracy problem in our world. The first approach is well illustrated by the action of the Soviet Union, starting with the famous 1919 anti-illiteracy decree of Lenin, whereby a target date for the elimination of illiteracy was set, and all resources—governmental and private, student and teacher, working and professional organisations—were mobilized, to achieve the objective of universal literacy within a twenty-year period. Cuba reports today that they are following a similar technique, and a similar method is followed in the literacy programmes of Guinea. Under that system, a target date for literacy is set, and the task is achieved with tremendous effort and resources, somewhat as an end in itself, although from Soviet literature and documentation from Cuba, it is clear that it is related to the revolutionary and political ends of those societies.

The other approach, which in a sense develops out of the historic experience of Western Europe and North America, is seen in the literacy programme of a country like India or Brazil, where literacy is part of the adult education programme of the country, which in turn is a sector of the community development programme of those societies which marches alongside of the economic development plan of the country. Under this alternative, no target date is set for the liquidation of illiteracy. The attainment of literacy is a function of the general economic development of the country. Here, literacy is part of the development programme and is a tool of that programme. It may be noted that India has set itself a target date of 1975, for the establishment of universal primary education, and, according to official documents, is realizing its objective. In the case of school education, there is a target date, which is in advance of the development rhythm of the country.

A fourth factor which is worrisome, in the literacy field, is the absence of clear administrative and governmental responsibility for literacy programmes and adult education programmes, in many of the countries where the literacy problem is serious. The Minister of Education in all countries is responsible for school education. In most countries he has or feels no responsibility for literacy programmes for adults. One of the difficulties facing Unesco in helping to plan literacy programmes in our Member States which need them most, is this absence of clear political, governmental and administrative focus for such programmes.

A fifth group of problems is the dearth of trained men and women and appropriate material for mounting and carrying on a literacy campaign. The limitation imposed by lack of trained manpower is, in my opinion, not a very serious one. The successful experiences registered in literacy programmes so far show how, given the will and a minimum amount of planning, large voluntary resources aided and guided by public authority, can be brought to bear on this problem. The real bottleneck is materials to be used during the literacy campaign, and those to be used in a continuing programme of education. This, even less than the manpower problem, ought not to be a problem today, when we have at our disposal new methods and techniques of instruction. After careful study and review of the new tools of education today, the conclusion that programmed instruction, television and

radio, can be used effectively, cheaply and on a mass scale, to eliminate illiteracy, is recorded by Unesco. True, there is need for further research and investigation; true, there is need for adoptation and the training of instructors. But this means we have the resources today, not only for producing the traditional literacy and post-literacy materials, but using electronic machines and the television and radio media, to make the great leap forward which will bring this huge problem under manageable proportions.

Finally, there is the financing of this campaign for literacy. I believe that all of us today understand and accept that literacy is not only the right of every individual to enable him to enjoy a full life, it is economically the soundest investment in the field of human resources. Literacy provides both the background to change which characterizes and conditions economic progress and growth, and opens the individual to those attitudes and aptitudes on which all economic growth depends. In the case of the industrial and agricultural workers, investment in literacy is obviously a sound business proposition. It increases his productivity in several ways. The Soviet economist Strumilin, back in 1923-24, urging on the Soviet Government the need for heavy investment in education, calculated that the earnings of a literate worker are at least one-third as high as those of an illiterate one. His views and those of subsequent economists in Europe and North America, have confirmed the possibility of attaining universal literacy today as both a socially desirable and economically productive objective.

It is within this context that it is proposed that a ten-year plan of literacy development be established by Unesco, which would have as its objective making at least 50% of the present adult illiterate population literate within a decade. It is proposed to mount a campaign for making literate some 330 million people in a ten-year period. The cost of such a campaign would be 1.8 billion dollars, which would represent less than .5% of the national income for each country. It should be noted that a greater part of this cost would be covered by real contributions, i.e. in kind rather than money. This is where mobilizing the efforts of students, teachers, volunteers, non-governmental organizations, come in.

Such a programme needs international aid. International aid of the order of 30 million dollars a year would be needed for this literacy programme. This is arrived at by computing the cost of teaching materials production at 600 million dollars, for the ten-year period, and assuming about half of this requires foreign exchange.

There is also a Unesco programme of international action aimed at assisting countries in planning literacy programmes, training specialists to run those programmes, and providing some of the prototype material through production and research centres established in strategic locations around the world.

To sum up, therefore, I compute that a ten-year programme of literacy would require international aid at the level of some 40 million dollars, of which 10 million dollars would be administered by Unesco, and a little over 30 million dollars made directly available to governments.

Such is the task. It is vast, complex and difficult. But this programme and this campaign are timely. They are addressed to the people of the world everywhere, to the men and women in the fields, in the factories, in their homes and communities, men and women who need the light and life which knowledge, so abundant today, can bring to them, knowledge which grows only as it is given away.

17

Modes of Planning and Roles for Research in Educational Development

BY F. C. WARD

Working with K. G. Saiyidain, as I was privileged to do over a period of five years in the fifties, gave me an abiding respect for the Indian commitment to education as above all the liberation of individual minds. During those years and since, there has been no lack of voices decrying this commitment and proposing a number of grounds for bending Indian education to the service of other ends. And there has been a wide range of defections in practice from the kind of education which Professor Saiyidain and other leading educators in India have sought to encourage. But when this has been said, it remains true that India, stubbornly and under great difficulties, continues to remind an often-forgetful world that free minds are not only the end but the condition of free societies.

This experience in India has much to do with my present conception of "educational planning", a subject now very much in vogue throughout the world. These comments were prepared for a recent seminar of the International Institute for Educational Planning, in response to a request by Mr. Philip Coombs, the Institute's Director, who has given permission for their present use.

I believe that effective educational planning must include three levels, phases, or modes, which I shall call the reflective, the calculative, and the operative. I shall try to define each of these in turn and then return to them in connection with the relation which "research" may have to each.

1. *THE REFLECTIVE MODE OF EDUCATIONAL PLANNING:*

This aspect of planning might also be called "reflexive" or even "philosophical", for I have in mind attempts to identify and to clarify basic, general assumptions as to political and social purposes and values and the tensions between such assumptions which often guide (or infect) educational planning in its calculative and operative modes. We all know in a general way that national purposes and social traditions may conflict with each other or with those of the most right-minded foreign consultant. But the degree of attention paid to these assumptions and tensions has varied greatly in actual eduactional planning in the last ten years. As in the case of the magisterial "Radhakrishnan report" on Indian university education, the ends of education may be very explicitly formulated in their relation to national goals and translated with care into allocations and programs. However, as seems more often to have been the case, ends can be vaguely subscribed to but neither traced out carefully in terms of their consequences for investment nor reflected in the actual forms taken by educational institutions and activities.

In 1957, on being asked by an education journal* to look back over three years' observation of Indian educational development, I was led to characterize "Indian educational thought" in terms of certain "ideal polarities which supply the terms in which possible programs and institutions are being explored and defined." These polarities may now serve to illustrate what is here called the "reflective mode" of educational planning.

One of them, and perhaps the most pervasive, was that of "the few and the many", generated by the attempt of the "Sovereign Democratic Republic of India" deliberately to convert itself from an aristocracy into a democracy. This immense national commitment was, of course, grasped and accepted with every degree of clarity and conviction, from high seriousness and dedicated effort, through lip service, to outraged charges of blasphemy and sharp resistance to the notion, for example, of abolishing caste. In education, this commitment has affected

* *Phi Kappa Lambda*, December, 1957, 108ff.

a wide range of matters, from the reallocation of university scholarships in favor of the "scheduled castes" to the rapid opening of village schools. And these changes have caused misgiving as well as pride, as they have in other countries ; for Robert M. Hutchins' question, "Must democracy mean that everyone is entitled to a bad education ? " is central wherever the few seek continuity with the many.

A second polarity illustrates sharply the tension which may arise when national ends are accepted selectively by distinct groups which express different social purposes within the society. I refer to the set of issues centering around India's interest in crafts, basic schools and rural institutes, on the one hand, and small industry, technical institutes, and engineering, on the other. In India much more than elsewhere, this issue was "complicated and deepened by allegiance to the life and thought of Mahatma Gandhi. Gandhi refused to look upon the villager and village life as simply deficient in the goods, services, and amenities which large cities and large factories can supply. Like Jefferson, he saw a special virtue in agrarian life, and he wanted rural benefits of all kinds planned in such a way as to reinforce rural virtues, not to supplant or corrupt them."

On the other side of this issue have been most foreign consultants and most urban, educated Indians, bent on modernizing India after the model of Western economics. Thus, the deepest values which the Father of Indian Independence hoped independence would bring to the fore in Indian life have been faced with new competitors arising from India's economic and social evolution since 1947. The issue is by no means resolved and continues to affect the discussion, support, and conduct education in India, particularly in connection with elementary education in rural areas.

Those familiar with the Muslim and African worlds will cite their own examples of the influence upon education of national assumptions concerning the social and political ends which the educational system is expected to help the nation to realize. The continuing interplay between traditional Turkish values and Kemal Ataturk's "modernizing" ideas is one striking example.

2. *THE CALCULATIVE MODE OF EDUCATIONAL PLANNING:*

It is this mode of planning which is most in vogue at the present time. It has to do primarily with allocation and choice in the investment of resources for development. It attempts to make estimates of the relative returns to be expected from different amounts and rates of investment in education, and it describes that investment by numbers and categories of persons selected, educated or trained, and then put to work. Its tools are manpower planning and economic analysis.

Since 1954, it is evident that education has at least improved its rhetorical position as a putative source of economic development. In the fifties, education was still viewed by most ministries of finance and planning commissions as a social service, awkwardly popular with the people and hence with politicians. It was given only residual attention in national development plans. Also, it was some years before manpower planning for economic development was sufficiently advanced and accepted to affect the autochthonous planning, such as estimating the number of teachers needed for a burgeoning elementary school system, which always goes on within education ministries. Studies of educational problems were produced by "educationists" only, and the economist appeared only in the pale form of a "coster" or a watchdog from "Finance". At the same time, economic development plans were drawn up almost exclusively by groups of economists, who looked upon "educationists" as one group of special pleaders for increased allocations.

It was only about five years ago that the view of education as a factor of production, deserving of the status of a form of investment, began to affect educational planning. The first important fruit of this change of viewpoint of which I am aware was the "Ashby Commission" report, *Investment in Education*, which was submitted to the Government of Nigeria in 1960. There, an economist managed to get aboard and, in the absence of a national economic plan (still at that time in preparation), projected a certain growth-rate for the economy and connected it to the development of the educational system by means of estimates of the economy's future needs for highly skilled manpower. It is not possible to prove the statement, but I believe

that the scale of support to education which the Ashby Commission recommended was considerably larger because of the approach taken than it would have been at the hands of the traditional commission of educationists. The contrast is striking between the dour presence of the traditional figure from Finance, pointing out that education must be restricted because resources are limited, and the modern "development economist", pointing out that resources will be limited unless eduaction is expanded.

3. THE OPERATIVE MODE OF EDUCATIONAL PLANNING:

This is the level of specific educational programs, institutions, and methods which, in a complete planned development, are judged to be most likely to secure the ends subscribed to in the reflective mode, within the resources estimated in the calculative mode. Examples of specific educational operations would be a nation-wide scheme such as the extension services to secondary schools in India, which was designed to improve serving teachers, school principals, and schools within the reach and the resources of India's system of training colleges, a new agricultural college at Aleppo, in Syria, or the development of "school broadcasts" in Nigeria.

To my mind, the chief "lesson" of the last ten years emerges from the large number of mutually insulated activities on the various levels distinguished above and the relatively few cases in which what is done at the operative level is fully appropriate to the outcomes of planning in the reflective and calculative modes. If this is indeed the case, there should be no surprise. Quite apart from the pressures and distractions affecting the educators of a particular country, each foreign consultant and agency brings into the country separate and unevenly developed philosophical assumptions, bases of calculation, and operational models. In fact, these are often deposited by distinct species of experts, often dealing with separate elements in the host country. The reader can supply his own examples of social assumptions left unexamined until calculations and operations ran into unexpected obstructions, of financial allocations not consistent with social ends or operational capacities, and of

operations reflecting alien purposes or implying extravagant allocations of resources.

Reflection on such cases suggests that, if it can be realized in practice, a more inclusive conception of educational planning would be of real value to educational development everywhere. Educational planners should in future have at least a degree of capability in all three modes of planning, and an ability, even though a variety of specialists are engaged at particular points in a given educational activity, to maintain a frame of reference for the activity as a whole which extends beyond the boundaries of any particular phase or part.

II. THE ROLES OF RESEARCH IN EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

With the broadening of the conception of education as a factor of development, and with the broadening suggested above of the modes of thought and action involved in educational planning, I believe that a collateral expansion of the concept and practice of educational "research" is also called for. In fact, the word "inquiry" might be better as a means of encompassing all that in my view ought to be included in educational "research" if it is to be related most usefully to educational planning and development.

1. RESEARCH AS REFLECTIVE INQUIRY:

As examples of the need for analytical studies to inform educational planning in its reflective mode, let me cite two paragraphs from recent books on education. The first is taken from the latest major expression of planning in the calculative mode, *Education, Manpower, and Economic Growth*, by Harbison and Myers :

> "Despite this emphasis on manpower planning and increased enrollments in scientific and technical faculties in higher education, India is still plagued with excessive enrollments in fields which are not clearly related to India's present stage of economic growth. Except for Costa Rica,......India has the highest percentage enrollments in faculties of humanities, fine arts and law...........At its present stage of economic

development, these graduates cannot easily be absorbed in productive employment."*

The second paragraph is taken from a volume of essays on *Humanistic Education and Western Civilization* which is characteristic of the reflective mode :

"During the war and in the nation's first postwar response to the compulsions and alarms of international politics, general, liberal education was a natural casualty. Not even humanists escaped 'processing.' In the first year of the war, I heard a brisk university executive promise the Pentagon 'a steady stream of humanistic know-how'. The mood has been useful in many ways, in exposing educational flabbiness, increasing facilities, and strengthening the education of engineers. But if free men and women are reduced to 'skilled manpower' and invested in as 'human resources,' their freedom will be no more than a collective sovereignty. In the absence of a shared wisdom, experts will not understand each other, nor will their fellow citizens know what specialists and managers are trying to do."†

Within the range of considerations thought to be relevant and important by their authors, both of these statements have a certain degree of validity. Each makes assumptions which appear to be questioned or ignored by the other. For example, the first authors *appear* to ignore the role of "liberal arts" education as a necessary part of the education of intelligent citizens, including employable specialists. The second author takes for granted that manpower planning and liberal education are in some sense incompatible and that in the competition between them individual liberty and social cohesion are at stake. In fact, this may simply be a case of incomplete clarification of the full meaning and possible interrelationships of such social and political ends as freedom, order, and economic progress, and their relation to the financing and organization of education.

"Research" can help to inform attempts by educational planners to clarify relations between partial ends and between ends and means by giving operational meanings to disputed

* *Op. cit.* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964), p. 105f.

† *Op. cit.* (New York : Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964), p.136f.

terms and issues and finding ways to narrow differences concerning them among planners. For example, "manpower planning" is now in style in many countries. *Studies which would examine comparatively the ways in which individual freedom has been affected (i.e., infringed or expanded) by manpower planning, which compared the effects of manpower planning upon the "shape" of educational systems, or which looked closely at the effects upon future leadership groups of under-investment in facilities and teachers for "arts" subjects thought to be economically "useless"—such inquiries could improve the quality and range of educational planning.*

Other inquiries might clarify other unexamined assumptions affecting planning. For example, most American educators have been brought up to believe that centralized education is not compatible with individual liberty and political democracy. Should this belief be labelled "U. S. Folklore ! Not for Export," or is it a general truth which new democracies everywhere should heed ? Comparative studies of the political and social systems of societies having centralized educational systems could help to refine present understanding of this assumption, particularly on the part of American educational consultants.

Other inquiries are needed into the role of the foreign educational planner or general consultant. It is clear that he is not, like the old missionary and Aristotle's deity, an unmoved mover, writing fixed formulae on blank tablets. During the last ten years, I became impressed with the usefulness to any system of education, East or West, which a detached but sympathetic stranger can have, *if* he is willing to suspend his own judgement and correct for his own predilections until he discerns the purpose and capability of the eduactional system he is supposed to assist. Sympathetic detachment is less than is often claimed by, or for, the foreign consultant ; but, except for very restricted situations (often prepared or identified by general consultants) into which specialized experts can fit particular techniques, sympathetic detachment and a readiness to extend the range of his own

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* In a paper read at March, 1964 seminar in Lagos on "Manpower Problems in Economic Development," my associate, Mr. John Hilliard, develops a distinction between *economic* and *national* development and the relation of these to manpower planning which goes a long way toward showing how the "dilemma" posed above might be escaped.

educational ideas in new settings are in my present view the most essential traits required of a foreign general consultant in education.

But these are impressions, and careful studies are needed of the actual evolution of successful and disappointing educational efforts abroad and of the roles played therein by foreign consultants. The facts are complicated and resist disclosure to an extraordinary degree. They are subject to distortion by both modesty and pride. Yet I believe that enough "cases" are now extant of educational programs and projects which "worked" or "didn't work" to make it possible to get below the public relations level in attempting to assess the role of external assistance in connection with them. They should be studied and their "lessons" formulated and communicated. If this is done, I hope that the cases examined will be placed in their full context and appraised in terms of the adequacy or inadequacy of the reflections and calculations which entered into the decision to attempt them.

2. RESEARCH AS CAUSAL ANALYSIS:

In spite of the vigorous economic analysis of "investment education" which has been carried on in recent years, it is generally admitted that the qualitative differences between types of courses, institutions, and teaching methods have so far proved difficult to weigh. So have differences in economic value resulting from educational systems of different "shapes". Research has not yet taken us beyond W. Arthur Lewis' rule of thumb for distributing resources among elementary, secondary and higher education. Yet these discriminations are of precisely the type and order of magnitude actually faced by educational planners.

On the side of quality, we don't yet know what is necessity and what is luxury. The English tutorial system, for example, is dismissed as an obvious luxury for developing nations, yet in the nineteenth century it *may* have been a key element in the production of "high-level" leadership for a "pre-industrial" society which did, in fact, achieve industrialization during that century. Counting the noses of school leavers and graduates, as is done in current comparative manpower studies, may miss altogether the real differences among the products of different

educational systems. Perhaps, in a more sensitive analysis, one tutorial student should be assigned "the strength of ten" memorizers of "bazaar notes" on mass lectures and banal text-books. The truth is that we need to know more than we do now if we are to link qualities of mind with kinds of courses and teaching, on the one hand, and with kinds of service to a society, on the other. Nor has the calculative mode of planning as yet provided answers to the essentially philosophical questions whether "production education" is more "important" than "consumption education" or whether the product of "production education" is to be regarded as useful but unhappy, and the product of "consumption education" as happy, even when unemployed. We don't even know whether or not the distinction between "production" and "consumption" education is a semantic trap, whenever it is extended beyond its origins in economic planning.

3. OPERATIONAL RESEARCH:

At the level of educational operations, I believe that we have repeatedly failed to provide for several kinds of useful inquiry. Not the least useful would be a better knowledge of social and economic facts relevant to the selection and design of particular operations. I refer to such topics as the history of a country's educational system and of particular educational institutions already present in the country, the social and economic groups traditionally having access to education, attitudes to being educated on the part of different social elements, degree of readiness of different social groups to profit from education and meet its costs, further educational or vocational prospects for "graduates", et cetera. In the absence of such initial data, artificial programs and projects are undertaken which fail to attract the students they are intended to serve, or which lack continuity with existing capacities and institutions which might have provided their base, or which lack effective links with other levels of the educational system, with stable sources of support, or with access to appropriate kinds of employment. Again, I will leave to the reader the supplying of examples of such ventures from his own experience.

Operational appraisals are needed, also, if the actual, as well as the assumed, results of educational programs and projects are to be disclosed. A teacher-training scheme may be pronounced a success, until it is discovered that most of its products are driving taxis. Is a rural institute effective if its graduates fail to serve in rural areas, or are considered to be ineligible for some levels of rural service ? Is a "sub-professional" training course well designed if students enroll in it only pending their deferred admission to a university ? Too often, careful studies of actual results are not provided for when projects are begun, or take the form only of intramural "status reports." The latter are by no means useless, but provision for detached analysis of results should be made more often than is now the case.

Recent experience in at least one country where the Ford Foundation has been reviewing its efforts since 1952 suggests that analytical studies of operations should be jointly conducted by both foreigners and nationals. Such studies, I believe, have the best chance of actually improving operations.

Another range of research in the operative mode is that of experimentation with new techniques and methods, such as programmed learning and educational television. While conventional expansion of educational systems is going on widely, the possibility of finding unconventional and cheaper means to the same end is of great current interest. My own impression is that these techniques have their best chance of acceptance if tried out at the "bottle-necks" of developing educational systems, such as teacher-training, secondary education, "pre-university years" and adult education. Education officials are less apt to resist experimentation on students for whom they are not otherwise able to provide. And, in the absence of "places" in conventional schools, the African "school-leaver," for example, or the unqualified serving teacher, or the isolated adult, have nothing to lose if they respond to new and unconventional techniques of instruction.

18

Purpose and Progress of American Public Education

By CARLETON WASHBURNE

The goal of public education in the United States is basically that of democracy. It is based on the belief that every human being has the right to develop his own characteristic potentialities both as an individual and as an integral, contributing and responsible element of society.

Traditionally, all education has attempted to pass on from one generation to the next the accumulated experience of the past. That objective still has validity, but it has been necessarily modified and extended. Once it attempted to pass on all such experience; now experience has become so vast that this goal has become clearly impossible of attainment by any one person, and we have to rely upon making such parts of past experiences as are needed by individuals accessble to them, when they need it, through libraries and preserved records of all sorts; we therefore try to give to all persons the necessary skills for finding and using what they need.

Once education was for the few—those who were from a certain class of society by circumstances of birth; now it is our aim to make it available to every person, regardless of the kind of family into which he was born, regardless of race, creed, or socio-economic status.

Once education was largely limited for many to the skills necessary to livelihood—to vocational and technical training; now we recognize that everyone needs to have the opportunity to develop his whole personality, his physical health, his intellectual growth, his emotional equilibrium, his aesthetic values, his initiative and creativity, and his spiritual life.

Once the education for social responsibility was largely confined to a number of moral precepts; now it is recognised that a real sense of responsibility toward the well-being and progress of society must rest on the practice of co-operative thinking, planning and action toward social objectives, the practising of democracy.

Once social responsibility, was for one's own family, group, community or nation. Now it is increasingly extended to responsibility toward all parts of a more and more interdependent world, toward minorities as well as majorities.

Compared with today, the world of the past was relatively static and education tended to perpetuate each culture in the status quo. But now we are living in a rapidly changing society, a society of many cultures all affecting each other, a society of ever new and unforeseeable problems. The ability to meet new problems effectively has therefore become an important part of education. Initiative, originality, imagination, and creativity are recognized as essential for human progress. Freedom for individuals and minorities to explore new ways, think for themselves, have full access to all facts and ideas, and search new solutions to problems is both a purpose of education and a means to achieving its overall goal of progressively greater and more universal human well-being and fulfilment.

These broad purposes are being envisioned ever more clearly, and progress toward their achievement is evident—not necessarily in every school and community, but in an increasing number.

The universality and equality of educational opportunity has been an avowed goal of public education in the United States for more than a century. Schooling at both elementary and secondary levels has been available, free of tuition, for children of all kinds of families. More recently, the separation of children by race has become illegal and is gradually disappearing. De facto separation due to the clustering of one race or socio-economic class in one part of a city is being realistically faced as never before, and both the conditions that cause such slums and the education of those who now live in them are being recognized as major problems, and solutions are being sought and gradually applied.

More availability of schools, however, is a far cry from full educational opportunity for all. A fixed uniform offering of an

academic education flows over a bored and discouraged mass of children who are "below average" in ability to absorb such learning, and fails to challenge those of superior capability. Progress is being made in taking account of the wide diversity among children. Efforts are being made, sometimes with marked success to meet the various needs and interests of each child, and to fit the work of the schools to each child's capacity.

Thus the program of the schools is being rapidly extended in scope. At best, it takes account of the development of each child as a whole and fosters such development of all aspects of the child's nature. The program recognizes that intellectual growth and attainment is only one aspect of development, intimately bound up with physical, emotional, social, aesthetic, creative and spiritual aspects. It recognizes that a child's development of each aspect differs characteristically from that of every other child. It tries, therefore, to provide diversity of activities, learning situations and objectives, to fit each child's needs, interests and capabilities.

At the same time, the schools see more clearly than ever before that individual development is necessarily interdependent with social development, that all individuals must recognise themselves as responsible elements of social whole, one which ultimately embraces all humanity.

The sense of social responsibility can be developed only by participation with others in the accomplishment of social objectives, each person contributing his own special abilities and interests toward a social goal. This begins, as far as the schools are concerned, in a democratically conducted classroom. Here children are beginning to practise democracy in the planning and carrying out of projects and activities in which all can participate, each in his own way and degree. Here they can learn the necessity for recognising the rights and contributions of minorities and individuals and how to adjust social purposes and actions to these. Here they can learn the uses and limitations of freedom.

But the school is only one of the educational forces that affect growing children. It cannot act in isolation. It must recognize and work with parents, the community, and society at large. Parents and other citizens are consequently encouraged to visit the schools, to share their own experiences, special skills and

talents with the children, to become aware of the schools' objectives and efforts, to participate in seeking solutions of the schools' problems.

It is a special function of the schools to broader the sense of social responsibility beyond the borders of home, school and community, to help the children as they grow up to see their community as an interdependent part of their nation, and their country as an integral part of the world as a whole. Ultimately, world-mindedness is the goal—a realization that no part of the human race can achieve well-being except as all parts achieve it.

Toward all this, progress is being made increasingly in public education. But that progress is dependent upon the education of the teachers. Their attitudes, their knowledge and skill, and their vision, determine the progress of public education. The development of the profession of teaching is crucial to progress.

As in all professions, research is a key to the attainment of objectives. The progress of research in the profession of education is notable. Not only is there research in the field of education itself, but the profession is drawing increasingly on the research in psychology, psychiatry, petiatrics, cultural anthropology and sociology. Familiarity with this research, often participation in it, and techniques of teaching based upon it are becoming a part of the professional education of teachers all over the United States.

But such technical preparation is only a segment of the preparation of teachers during and after pre-teaching experience. Teachers are human beings and their personalities and culture play a vital role in the education of their pupils. Only one-fourth of the preparation of teachers for the elementary schools, less than one-fifth of that for secondary schools, is technical. The balance is general cultural education and, especially for those planning to teach on the secondary level, knowledge of their special fields of interest. Both elementary and secondary school teachers now are commonly required to have four or five years of university education, including technical training, before beginning to teach.

This education óf teachers is daily improving. It continues beyond the preparatory period in the university throughout the teachers' career. In-service education of the teachers is becoming

a primary function of school administration and supervision. Local "workshops" where teachers meet together with specialists as consultants and resources, to solve common problems, have been multiplying. Universities are offering extension courses and advanced work on the campus for experienced teachers, to make available the most recent advances in research pertinent to their work and problems. Meetings of teachers' associations yield opportunities for cross fertilization and mutual stimulation among many teachers. Professional journals and educational literature in prodigal amounts help teachers keep abreast of the most recent and thoughtful advances in the profession. And teachers are to an ever greater extent improving their personal education, developing their own interests and hobbies, travelling widely, broadening their world-view, becoming more highly cultured human beings.

While progress has been marked in all these regards, we are still far from the end of the road. Our goals are still a long way ahead. It is only as we look back that we see how far we have come. As we look ahead we realize how far we have yet to go. It is then that we become highly critical of what we are doing and that parents and other citizens become critical. Insofar as criticism is not based on ignorance or narrow vision, insofar as it is constructive, it is a measure of the height of our ideals and of the widespread interest of all in trying to reach our goals.

Day by day, year by year, and generation by generation education moves forward toward its ultimate goal—toward helping every individual to the full development of his potentialities—physical, intellectual, emotional, aesthetic, creative, social and spiritual potentialities—both as an individual and as a responsible cooperative and contributive member of human society.

19

Communal Conflicts and Religion

BY HUMAYUN KABIR

I am glad to join in the tribute which is being paid to K.G. Saiyidain on his Sixtieth Birthday. One of the leading educational thinkers of India, he has also proved an able planner and administrator. The contemporary ferment in educational thinking in India owes a great deal to him even in fields where his advice has not been fully accepted.

Education is Saiyidain's first love, but other interests have also claimed his attention. A writer of distinction, a major interest of his life is the creation of better understanding among communities within India and between India and the outside world. He has travelled and lectured widely and is one of the finest cultural ambassadors that India has sent abroad. I have therefore selected as the theme of my tribute a plea for better understanding between the two major communities of our motherland.

I

Communal conflicts have been one of the distressing and disgraceful features of Indian life in the last fifty years. They have often arisen from trivial causes, but the damage to national well-being and solidarity has been deep and far-reaching. Many had hoped that after the attainment of independence such conflicts would be things of the past. Unfortunately that hope has not been fulfilled and seventeen years after independence, ugly incidents still mar the Indian scene.

Communal conflicts not only create bitterness and a sense of insecurity but have far-reaching economic and political consequences as well. They retard economic development and divert indequate national resources to preventive or restorative measures when they are sorely needed for programmes of national reconstruction. Politically, they weaken the forces of democracy and

damage India's image before the world. Socially, they loosen the bonds of unity among members of different communities and corrode the very basis of national solidarity. It is therefore necessary to ponder on the question why communal conflicts take place and devise measures to prevent their recurrence.

In pre-independence days, communal riots have taken place because music was played before a mosque or a cow slaughtered as a sacrifice Once a riot occurred when an irate husband threw a plate at his wife and the plate landed on the head of a passerby. A struggle of individuals for property and worldly goods has led occasionally to widespread conflicts in which communities became involved. Sexual offences have also been a major cause of communal disturbance. In almost all cases, the initial conflict is between individuals which in other contexts would have had no large-scale social repercussions. Criminal courts are full of cases of violence, murder and sexual offence, but unless the parties belong to different religious groups, such clashes are regarded as a private matter between two individuals or groups and people are content to let the law take its course.

A scramble for jobs, clashes of economic interests and personal animosities no doubt play their part in communal conflicts, but why is it that a communal turn is given to what are essentially cases of private injury? The answer may be sought in two factors. When two individuals of the same community clash, other members of the community very often do not take an interest and leave it to them to sort it out by themselves. When two individuals from two communities clash for identical reasons, the situation takes a different turn. Each tends to become identified with his group and what was a private quarrel becomes a public conflict.

It seems that there is a latent hostility among separate groups in almost every area of the world. The seduction of Helen by Paris led to the Trojan war, though there must have been hundreds of such seductions in Greece without causing a ripple in social life. Parallel incidents occur in the history of almost every country in the world. These reactions of one community against another seem to be a part of society's self-protective measures and date back to the time when an individual was

protected not by the State or the rule of law but the power of his tribe or clan. Group hostilities are thus an atavistic survival of the times before the establishment of civil society. As tribal codes give place to law and order maintained by an impersonal State, private vengeance of individuals and groups gradually becomes obsolete. It is therefore a little surprising that such group rivalries should persist in India which has a long tradition of established government. In addition, India is a land where different ethnic groups with different religious faiths and social customs have long lived in peace.

While the relations between Hindus and Muslims in India are friendly in normal times, we find time and again outbreaks of violence that result in destruction and death. There must be a reason for this and this can only be some flaw in the attitude of religious toleration which both communities accept as the normal mode of life. For Hindus, this flaw can be traced to caste exclusiveness which leads to a lack of regard for men of other religious faiths. Indifference and even contempt for men of other religions is perhaps a natural corollary to untouchability within the Hindu social fold. This indifference or contempt may not be conscious or deliberate and there may also be cases where in fact there is no feeling of contempt or hatred, but those who suffer from the effects of untouchability do not make any distinction between conscious and unconscious motives or their absence. For them, the fact of discrimination in everyday life is enough to rouse their resentment and lead to feelings of anger and hatred which break out whenever an opportunity offers.

For historical and political reasons, Muslims feel this sense of discrimination more acutely than members of other Indian communities. It is true that there has been a small Christian community in the country for some two thousand years. It is however small in number and for centuries remained confined to a narrow corner of the land. In addition, Indian Christians never exercised political power and did not therefore pose any challenge to the power of the majority community. Muslims have on the other hand been spread throughout the sub-continent from the day of their first appearance in India. Their number, their distribution and above all their exercise of military and political power made the problem of untouchability between

them and the Hindus one full of explosive possibilities.

There is a parallel flaw in the Muslim attitude to other religions. Islam categorically declares that there must be no compulsion in religion and each individual must be left free to follow the faith of his choice. While Muslims thus recognise that there are many religions in the world, there is one basic difference between Hinduism and Islam in their attitude to this diversity. For Hindus, the diverse ways of worship have arisen because of different human needs and all have equal validity. For Muslims, the diversity has arisen because of human failing which has led to the distortion of a single pristine truth. According to Islam, all religions were basically the same, but in course of time became distorted by custom and circumstance. It was to rectify these distortions that prophets appeared in succession in different parts of the world but no prophet preached a new religion. Thus the Prophet Muhammad was not the originator of Islam, but only the last in a long line of prophets who had all taught an identical faith. Any deviation from this original religion is therefore for Muslims a deviation from Truth.

When these two religious attitudes met in India, there was an attempt at reconciliation from both sides. Hindus have for centuries recognised the validity of different professions and practices in the sphere of religion. Within Hinduism itself, there is the widest variety of faiths and customs. A place has been found in the Hindu pantheon for even those who rebelled against traditional Hinduism. Thus, the Buddha is regarded today as one of the Hindu *Avatars*. Similarly, Christ and Muhammad have also found places of honour in the Hindu mind. Similarly, Muslims have condemned compulsion in religion and admitted that different religions must be given due respect. The accommodation achieved in India between Hindus and Muslims is seen in the many instances where Hindus worship at Muslim shrines and Muslims pay homage to Hindu religious teachers and saints.

In spite of such accommodation, the psychological separation between Hindus and Muslims has not however been overcome. Social and political factors have contributed to this but a major reason is the difference in religious outlook mentioned above.

Among orthodox Muslims, there are many who look upon all non-Muslims, particularly Hindus, as *kafirs* or unbelievers. Among Hindus, there are many who look upon Muslims as *mlechhas* or unclean. For Hindus, such an attitude was in the past partially a defence reaction to protect the Hindu community against the political power and religious proselytisation of Muslims. After the advent of the British, superiority in education and economic position strengthened such feelings. Among Muslims, political pride and a sense of religious superiority led to the same attitude. This was reinforced by a defence reaction after they lost their economic and political advantages under British rule. The root cause for Hindu-Muslim conflicts in India therefore derives from this attitude of exclusiveness. Because of this, Muslims look upon Hindus as *kafirs* and Hindus return the compliment by looking upon Muslims as *mlechhas*.

In order to create the psychological atmosphere where the two communities can develop a sense of national identity while retaining their special group characteristics, it is necessary to bring about a change of attitude among both Hindus and Muslims. In the case of Hindus, what is needed is a change in the snobbery born out of caste exclusiveness. Due to industrialisation and urbanisation, the process of break up of caste has already begun. As education spreads, the process is bound to be accelerated, though one has to admit that in recent years caste has had an unexpected lease of life given to it by political forces. The democratic process of elections has in certain cases led to an ossification of caste and this is most marked where elections are in small constituencies. With larger areas and greater mixture of population, governing power of caste is bound to diminish and ultimately disappear. In fact, we already see the beginning of a new type of social grouping where Hindus and Muslims belonging to the same economic class or educational background tend to draw nearer to one another than their coreligionists in different social categories. This applies even more to Hindus of different castes.

Among Muslims also, the process of change has begun in the recognition of the philosophic and other truths embedded in Hindu, Buddhist or Christian thought. This recognition has

however to be linked up with the Muslim religious belief that prophets have been sent to every country in every age. While Muslim religious thought insists that true religion is one and only one, it also recognises that this pristine truth has been sent to every people in every age in a form acceptable to them. This has introduced a respect for diversity of faith, but such respect finds easy and wide acceptance only when the people following different faiths claim to be the followers of a recognised prophet. That is why we find throughout the Muslim world a distinction between those who are called the people of the Book and others. According to orthodox Muslim thought, a Christian or a Jew has deviated from the pristine teaching of true religion but nevertheless he has a position of privilege among non-Muslims and is entitled to special consideration. The clearest evidence of this is found in the law which permits marriages between Muslims and followers of a Book but forbids a Muslim to marry a non-believer.

If therefore it is accepted that Hindus are Ahl-e-Kitab or people of the Book, it would remove one of the major psychological barriers between the two communities. A Book is given to a people through a prophet and according to the Quran, prophets were sent to every country in every age. *It is further* stated that no apostle has been sent except to teach in the language of his people so that they might easily understand him. Many such prophets were sent before the Prophet Muhammad, some of whom are mentioned in the Quran and others not. The Quran gives no number but according to an authentic tradition, it was almost two hundred thousand.

The Quran also lays down the criteria of a *Kitab* or a revealed Book. A revealed Book conveys the message of God and is not the composition of any man. It preaches the unity of God as well as the responsibility of man for his actions. This criterion easily fits in with the Vedas and the Gita. Both, according to Hindu tradition, are APAURUSHEYA, i.e. not the handiwork of man but of divine origin. The Quran insists on the unity of Godhead and claims that this is the basis of all true religion. The Rig Veda also proclaims, 'He is one, though sages call Him by many names'. The Atharva Veda declares that renown and glory

force and happiness, splendour, food and nourishment belong to him who only thinks of God as "One without a second...He is the Sole, the simple One, the One alone". One could easily imagine that these passages are taken from the Quran.

In the light of the Quranic declaration that prophets have been sent to every country in every age to preach in the language of its people, it seems certain that there must have been many prophets in India. Surely when so many prophets were sent to Palestine within a few hundred years, a vast country with so ancient a history as India could not be denied that privilege. In fact we find in the Indian tradition conceptions which fit in with the concepts of revelation and prophethood. The description of the Vedas as *Shruti* or heard fits in with the Quranic concept of revelation where the prophet hears what is revealed to him. Similarly, the concept of *Avatar* in Hinduism appears as an Indian version of the concept of prophet in Islam. A prophet is a man on whom God's message descends. *Avatar* from the root meaning of the word could mean exactly the same thing. It is a matter for interpretation whether the *Avatar* is regarded as an incarnation of God or a vehicle through whom God's message is revealed. The role that Christianity has ascribed to Christ is an interesting commentary on this and shows how easily these two interpretations can merge.

The Quran states that only some prophets are mentioned but the majority remain unnamed. Among the names that are explicitly mentioned, there is at least one which could refer to an Indian prophet. In *Surah XXI*, there is a reference to 'Dhul Kifl'. This can be roughly translated as Prince of Kufl and could very well refer to the Buddha who was Prince of Kapilavastu. There is no 'p' in Arabic so that 'p' sounds are converted either to 'f' or 'b'. Similarly, Dhul-Quranian mentioned in the Quran has been differently identified by Sir Syed Ahmad with Che-hwang-te, the Chinese Emperor-sage, with Alexander by Abdullah Yusuf Ali and with Cyrus by Maulana Azad.

It may be argued that whatever may have been the religion of the Vedas, Hinduism today is not monotheistic and has many idols. Such an argument admits by implication the claim of the Veda to be a revealed Book. At the most it could therefore be

said that the pristine purity of Vedic faith has been distorted. It may be pointed out that a similar development has taken place in Christianity as well. There are pictures and images of Mary and Jesus in most Christian churches. In spite of this, Christians are recognised as Ahl-el-Kitab. On the same basis, Hindus should also be regarded as people of the Book.

Images came to the Christian churches at a later date. This is equally true of Hinduism. As far as is known, idol worship was introduced into India in the wake of Alexander's invasion. Even in early Buddhism, there is no image of the Buddha. It is only after the Greeks came to India and brought their statuary that we get the first life-like images of the Buddha. Hinduism borrowed image worship from the later phases of Buddhism. It is interesting to note that the word 'But' in Persian as well as in Urdu is a corruption of Budh or Buddha, indicating the close connection between the representation of the Buddha and idol worship. Finally, even in traditional Hinduism of today, the fact that the idol is discarded and thrown into a river after the religious ceremony proves that the idol is not the object of worship but only a symbol to help the devotee to concentrate.

There are Arabic scholars who hold that the term '*Kafir*' was restricted only to certain idolatrous tribes in Arabia and cannot be applied to those who claim to have a Book. Hindus claim to have a Book and there is no reason to dispute that claim. The description they give of their religion as *Sanatan Dharma* or the perennial faith has a close affinity to the Muslim conception of Islam as the one faith that has persisted through the ages. If in spite of modifications and changes, Jews and Christians are recognised as Ahl-el-Kitab or people of the Book, is there any reason to deny that title to Hindus?

20

The Bureaucrat or Civil Servant and Politician in Modern Democracy

BY JAL F. BULSARA

IMPACT OF THE BUREAUCRAT AND POLITICIAN ON THE LIVES OF CITIZENS

In the world of to-day, the influence on the lives of citizens exercised by the civil servant or bureaucrat and politician is out of all proportion to their worth, importance or capacity. In earlier days, so long as rural life preponderated, the bureaucrat and politician did not wield so potent an influence on the lives of the villagers. As soon as towns and cities grew and administration spread from urban centres to outlying rural areas, the bureaucrats lorded it over citizens far in excess of their capacity to govern or organise, or their interest in the well-being of the rural citizens. Thus the Chief had his tax gatherers and his police and army to enforce tax collection. Those who disobeyed his orders could be imprisoned and the keepers of the jail were as a rule a tough lot. The King and Emperor evolved a bureaucracy increasing in numbers in proportion to the extent of his territory and the wealth of his treasury. The politician till then was largely an adviser of the Chief, King or Emperor. Politics had not yet developed into a profession.

POLITICIAN'S ROLE HEIGHTENED IN DEMOCRACY

2. With the advent of democracy, the politician and bureaucrat came into their own. The politician organised his party and the party enunciated a programme which was based on the ideology it professed. The first country to evolve the party system on well defined lines was England, and later on the United Kingdom, formed of three and subsequently of four constituent

territories including Northern Ireland. Most other western countries modelled their party system on similar lines in the early stages of their democratic development. Very few, however, have a two-party system, and most countries have four and some even up to eight or ten political parties. Newly independent countries who have adopted the *parliamentary* or *democratic* form of government have also more than two parties, unless they turn into military dictatorships or monolithic one-party governments. Whether one-party rule can be called a democratic form of government is a matter for serious thought, even if such governments are to describe themselves as people's democracies, because democracy is fashionable or because they are ashamed of being described as dictatorships or governments by coercion and suppression of opposition.

THE CITIŻEN HAS RELATIVELY LITTLE SHARE IN MOULDING THE TWO POWERFUL INSTITUTIONS

3. Whatever the form of government, both bureaucracy and party politics are two major institutions, which to-day dominate the lives of citizens all over the world even more than their religion or conscience. And yet it appears that people all over the world do not seem to be giving adequate thought to the proper moulding of the character of these two powerful institutions, which they themselves pay to maintain and glorify. If democracy is government with the free consent and will of the people how little are people able to influence the actions and behaviour of the bureaucrat and the policy and methods of the politician! This is hardly good for the intelligent citizen in an age when almost every aspect of his public activity is increasingly controlled by legislative enactments or executive and administrative orders and decrees.

SHOULD THE POLITICIAN REGULATE THE CITIZENS TASTES AND MOBILITY

4. To allude to one or two points by way of illustration only, the politician takes it upon himself to regulate not only our likes and dislikes in food and drink, but he also wants us all to adopt his personal emotional ethics about the percentages of the chemical ingredients of people's age-long beverages. In what he profes-

ses to do in the name of democracy, he has held no referendum and gives the people no choice of local option—devices well tried in democratic countries on the same or similar issues affecting the generality of citizens. In order to save foreign exchange, the minister or politician, on the advice of or in consultation with his secretary or bureaucrat, issues a decree or enactment as to who shall go abroad and in what manner, and all citizens in the land are expected to obey. People falling in particular permissible categories can leave the shores of the country almost at will any time of the year. Those who would like to go abroad once in 3 or 5 years cannot get a permit on straightforward or truthful statement of the object of their journey. Both for drinking wine or going abroad, honest citizens have to prevaricate or resort to subterfuges. Sometimes these subterfuges are built into the regulations and all and sundry make use of them liberally. Examples of the above types of administrative or legislative dispensations can be multiplied. But the above will suffice for purposes of illustration. Can they be said to have been based or to be administered on the accepted principles of equity, justice, fair play and equality of treatment?

POLITICIANS NEW TO THEIR SUB-CONTINENTAL RESPONSIBILTY

5. Perhaps some will say these and like things are inevitable in a developing country or in a world full of imperfections and contradictions! But that will only be a facile argument or an evasive reply. The truth is that most of our bureaucrats and our politicians are as new as the citizens themselves to the heavy responsibilities and novel techniques of the independent governance of a vast country of 460 million people of variegated colours and composition, tastes and traditions, education and culture. The inexperienced and sometimes naive politician is in a hurry, he has little time to think; and the bureaucrat is said to be overwhelmed with heavy work of administering a rapidly developing country. Few of their tribes have wielded independent authority of the magnitude they have been given since independence. A further tragedy is that instead of allowing the official to execute the policy laid down by the government without interference, the inexperienced politician has so demo-

ralised him by constant intervention that the average official has lost his initiative. A large number has become demoralised or disgruntled. The nature of the relations between bureaucracy and the politician revealed in one or two public inquiries has not been happy or wholesome. These inquiries shown up the weaknesses of the entire machinery and functioning of government. Many an honest administrator has been compelled to leave this uncomfortable and disquieting administrative millieu.

UNWISE ADMINISTRATION CAN AFFLICT CITIZENS' LIVES

6. The citizens of the country, in which are also included the bureaucrat or civil servant as he is called today and the politician, have to give serious thought to the art of governance and the important aspect of administrative service and its appropriate manning. The art of efficient administration and wise legislation is so important for the overall well-being of the citizen that the citizen must have a strong say in the recruitment and training the bureaucrat of civil servant and the education and election of the politician. If these two are raw, power-drunk, inefficient, churlish, irresponsible, unconscientious, mere careerists or adventurers for gain, the greatest harm can be done to the smooth functioning of democracy and the daily lives of the citizens, because these two categories of the country's citizens have been loaded to-day with unprecedented powers of decision and dispensation.

APPROPRIATE METHODS OF RECRUITMENT, TRAINING AND ORIENTATION NEEDED

7. Constructive steps need to be taken to recruit appropriate candidates for every minor or major administrative post in governmental and municipal department and public concern or undertaking. Minimum educational qualifications need to be laid down for various categories and cadres of posts, appropriate to the respective administrative or technical discharge of duties. Recruitment should be through sound methods and procedures by well-constituted detached Committees or Commissions. It should be based upon an impartial scrutiny of written records submitted by the candidates and

oral examination of a searching nature, not to find weaknesses alone but also to look for the strong qualities needed for public positions of trust, authority and willing service of the people. This should hold true for all administrative recruitment from the peon upwards to the Secretary and Director. After recruitment, every one should undergo a short or medium pre-service and/or in-service training or orientation. It must be systematically imparted, and there must be some qualifying test and also an option for rejection of those candidates, who do not come up to expectation.

ADEQUATE PAY AND SATISFACTORY CONDITIONS OF SERVICE TO BE GUARANTEED TO PUBLIC SERVANTS

8. Since the interest of the country's efficient and honest administration demands capable public or civil servants, one would strongly like to advocate a special scale of pay for all those entering government service, inclusive of perquisites for medical treatment for themselves and family, adequate housing or payment towards rent, facilities for the education of their children, and provision for pension, provident fund or assurance in old age. Even if the overall condition of the country be poor, one wonders whether an appeal to a sense of patriotism and public duty alone can bring about a sense of dedication among public servants, if the basic necessaries of life are not assured to one and all of them. While there may be stability of statutory service, it is a patent fact that private employment offers much better opportunities by way of emoluments, perquisites and service conditions than government or municipal service in most developing countries. It is futile to expect a high sense of patriotism, public duty and responsibility from the generality of public servants on a miserly or low scale of compensation. If we expect, as we positively do, a high level of efficiency, integrity, hard work, courtesy and service-mindedness from our public servants, it stands to reason that we must make up our mind to pay them well and provide special facilities in proportion to our expectations from them.

THE QUALIFICATIONS AND TRAINING OF POLITICIANS FOR LEGISLATIVE AND MINISTERIAL FUNCTIONS

9. As regards the politician, he appears to have three major functions to-day *viz.*, (*i*) to serve his party and explain its programme to the people, (*ii*) secure votes, and (*iii*) attend the legislature, serve on Committees and Commissions, and occupy ministerial posts of authority when called upon to do so. Do the majority of the party members qualify for these tasks and more particularly for the important tasks of cogent thinking on legislative proposals, efficient Committee work, and a wise supervision of administration as ministers and policy-makers? From what we see in actual practice in the Municipal Councils and Corporations, Legislative Councils and Assemblies, the Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha or the Parliament of the country, one cannot say that the majority of the politicians, who are elected or nominated to these positions of watch-dogs of the citizens' interests, fulfil even moderate expectations. A close record of every councillor or politician is unfortunately not kept, but if it were, it would perhaps show a gloomy record of the activities of our fellow-citizens elected to various legislative and deliberative bodies. It may not be an exaggeration to say that perhaps nearly 50 to 60 per cent rarely open their mouths in the whole period of their elective tenure. From the manner of their attendance, a much larger number may not be adequately studying the enormous bulk of papers coming to them as legislators and members of elective bodies. Can we expect from such persons wise and well thoughtout, legislation, cogently formulated policies, vigilant watching of the interests of a variety of citizens, and efficient guidance and supervision of the functioning of the civil service or the bureaucratic machinery?

EXPECTATIONS IN PROPORTION TO REWARDING CONDITIONS OF WORK

10. The task of legislation, administration and governance is immensely complex in the age in which we are living. The less the citizens are educated or experienced in democracy, the more efficient, educated and circumspect their representatives in Government and Opposition have to be. The studied protec-

tion of the interests of the citizens should be their supreme concern. If that is our expectation, can we get it from poorly qualified and unpaid or nominally paid representatives, some of whom have no adequate independent source of income? Are the citizens justified in expecting this high level of public service from persons who have to worry about their own and their children's daily bread and nutrition and small comforts and conveniences? If they have no independent gainful career, can we prevent most of them from turning into careerists? How do we expect them to discharge their primary responsibilities towards themselves and their families, if they are not adequately remunerated for public service, with only a five year term at a time, giving no guarantee of permanence? If it is expected that the legislators should be qualified for the responsible functions they have to discharge in order to serve the interests of the citizens in an able and impartial manner, should we not demand some minimum virtues, qualities and qualifications for such exacting public tasks? Should we let into the legislatures all and sundry on the mere basis of election speeches, whirlwind electioneering campaigns of a few weeks, or mere party leanings, and forget the rest for another five years? Are we thereby really doing justice to democracy or to ourselves? Are the majority of the persons we are electing fit to be our legislators, rulers and governors? Is occasional speech-making or intercession in some business requirement a sufficient qualification for intricate administration? Do we need 300 or 500 and odd persons, the majority of whom are dumb or mediocre, or whose names we never hear mentioned in their five years of legislative career? Is the so-called democratic but largely arithmetical criterion of one representative for so many thousands of population a valid standard to represent the voice, interests and aspirations of the peoples? Or do we need technically qualified persons, for the varied technical and general subjects which legislators have to deal with? Would not 150, 250 or 300 active, alert, wise, scholarly, experienced, hard-working and service-conscious legislators not be better than 500 or 600, half of which are mere nonentities or behave as such?

MERE IMITATION OF DEMOCRACY !

11. We have more or less been sheer imitators of the outer-forms of democracy. We have largely beguiled ourselves that, because we elect our representatives to municipalities, legislatures or parliament once in five years, we function as a democracy, we have good self-government, or that the country is or will be wisely governed. We have been noticing many obvious signs to indicate the myriad pitfalls and short-comings of our democratic structure. To expect a high level of public service from poorly qualified candidates, without independent means of income and with periodic uncertainty of elections, is to deceive ourselves about human nature. A large part of our corruption in public service both with regard to the bureaucrat and the politician may be due to the basis of our democratic structure and functioning being faulty and misconceived. It is largely an imitation from an alien soil, where it took 800 years of travail, trial and error to take firm roots and thrive. A delicate plant is being transported to inadequately prepared and unfertilised soil. We, therefore, need to give considerable thought to its proper adaptation to local conditions, keeping the essentials of democracy intact. Let us openly avow that a democratic way of life and democratic functioning of institutions are no doubt universally desired by mankind and would help man to grow and develop his faculties and personality, but these cannot come without hard training and sound preparation. We have not worked or trained ourselves for it, nor given much thought to the practical aspects of achieving democracy.

NEED OF RADICAL THINKING ON BASIC REQUIREMENTS

12. In the age in which we live and with the expectations we entertain of efficient and honest discharge of their respective duties by the civil servant and the politician, one fears attention has not been paid to the basic requirements for ensuring such civil and public service. We are not likely to get it from the type of bureaucrat and politician we are recruiting or electing to govern us, or under conditions of work and service we provide for them. We will have to do very radical thinking regarding both if we are anxious to improve the machinery of making

laws and of administration by which the citizens are governed in every aspect of their public life to-day. These institutions with the police and armed forces as they are organised to-day hold the key to the stability and wise or unwise governance of every nation. They can be kept on an even keel by a wide-awake citizenry and an organised and articulate public opinion, constantly acting as a watch-dog of national interests and well being. Citizens, who are the final arbiters of democracy, cannot achieve this legitimate power of keeping the Civil Servant, politician and soldier alert to their respective legitimate spheres of duty and responsibility to the country and the nation merely by indifferently exercising their vote once in five years. They will have to organise themselves into powerful impartial groups to think, learn and create public opinion in their favour to demand certain minimum qualifications, observance of basic principles of democracy, studious and painstaking work in the legislature, in committees, in ministries, in departments and in the field and high character and incorruptibility from the soldier, politician and the civil servant. If we consider ability, virtue, wisdom and spirit of service essential requirements of the bureaucrat and the politician, who have such a powerful sway over our lives and public and private activities, we should make up our minds to provide the proper milieu for promoting the rise and development of such qualified servants of society and guardians of public weal. In this milieu, basic educational qualifications, training, testing and adequate compensation should naturally play their respective significant roles. But the best guarantee for good government would always remain a disciplined, alert, wide-awake citizenry, ceaselessly cultivating and building up a powerful public opinion regarding the type of government it wants or aspires to.

21

The Greek Image of Indian Philosophy

By K. SATCHIDANANDA MURTY

From the earliest times Greece and India were in communication with each other. *The Majjhima Nikaya* mentions that in the Buddha's time there was a Yona or Indo-Greek state. Panini mentions Yonas and their script. In *Mahavamsa*, and *Dipavamsa* also Yonas and Yonakas are mentioned. Yona is the Prakrit form of Yavana; in old Persian it is Yanna, which occurs in a passage of *Mahabharata*, *Santiparvan*. Western classical writers like Arrian and numismatic evidence show that long before Alexander there were Greeks settled to the north-west of India and in various places in Asia Minor, and eastern Iran. Pythagoras is said to have visited India. (Iamblichus). The Persian emperor Darius reached Indus and under a Greek mercenary Skylax sent an exploratory expedition. (Herodotus). Darius annexed the Indus Valley and made it his twentieth satrapy. In 329 B.C., Alexander's army entered the Punjab after conquering Persia. Since that time right up to the fall of Rome, the West kept up a lively interest in India. Greeks in the service of Persian emperors, and the companions, generals and mercenaries of Alexander spread in Asia Minor and Greece stories and legends about India. Megasthenes about 306 B.C., came on an embassy to Chandragupta Maurya, lived for sometime in Pataliputra, and he also was for sometime at the court of Porus, whom he considered a greater king than Chandragupta. Fragments of what he wrote about India were preserved by later writers. Eratosthenes, president of the great library at Alexandria from 240 to 196 B.C., wrote about India, depending upon the accounts given by officers of Seleukus Nikator. At the beginning of the Christian era was born Apollonius at Tyana in

Cappadocia (Asia Minor). He was a great Neo-Pythagorean teacher. He was a vegetarian who never used any leather goods like shoes, lived an extremely ascetic life and practised silence for five years. He gave away all his patrimony to his relations and never possessed anything. It is said he visited India along with a Babylonian called Damis, to acquaint himself with the discipline and doctrines of the Brahmanas and was their guest for four months. Later Apollonius was considered so holy and divine that temples were built for him, emperors venerated him and he was held up as a rival to Jesus Christ. Philostratus (born 172 A.D.) wrote a life of Apollonius, basing himself on a previous life by Maximus, extant letters of Apollonius and memoirs left by Damis. Some scholars dismiss this life as legend and fictitious, but it does not contain greater exaggerations than are contained in Ktesias or Megasthenes. A Neo-Platonist Bardesanes (born A.D. 154) of Edessa (Mesopotamia) chanced to meet the leader of an Indian delegation to the Roman emperor and learnt from him about Indian religion. He wrote about India in Syriac. Fragments from his account are available. Clement (about 150-220 A.D.), the great Alexandrine Christian Father, learnt about India from his tutor Pantaenus, an early Christian missionary to India. In his *Stromateis* Clement has something to say about Indian religious men.

Diodorus Siculus, a Greek historian born in Sicily (1st tury B.C.); Strabo, Greek geographer and historian born about 63 B.C. in Pontus, Asia Minor; Plutarch (46-120 A.D.) born in Boeotia (Greece), Procurator of Greece in Emperor Hadrian's time, and Priest of Apollo at Delphi; Arrian (96-180 A.D.), Greek historian and Legatus of Cappadocia in Hadrian's time, all these wrote about India and Alexander's invasion. Arrian depended upon the accounts of Aristobulus and Ptolemy who accompanied Alexander. The Neo-Platonist Porphyry (A.D. 230-300) and Stobaeus (6th century) preserved Bardesanes accounts. The famous orator and rhetorician Dion Chrysostom (died about 117 A.D.), Palladius, Bishop of Helenopolis, and Pausanias, a Lydian who lived in the time of the Antonines, had something to say about Indian life ideals. Callisthenes, a nephew of Aristotle, followed Alexander on his expedition, but fell out with him and for allegedly inspiring a cons-

piracy, was killed. He is said to have written about Alexander and India. During the crusades when Europe was invading Asia, Alexander myths were very prevalent. Someone at the time wrote a romance about Alexander and ascribed it to Callisthenes. This is now known as Pseudo-Callisthenes. Similarly there seems to be a Pseudo-Origen, Origen of course being the great Alexandrine Christian Father (born 185 A.D.)

I have mentioned above only those classical writers who wrote something about Indian religion, philosophy and ascetics. It is clear from all these accounts that the Greeks were highly impressed by Indian doctrines and asceticism, and in the early centuries of the Christian era, the Greek image of Indian religion influenced Christian asceticism to a very great extent. Now I will attempt to project the Greek image of Indian religion and asceticism as found in these sources.

The general image of India is conveyed by what Porphyry says while introducing Bardesanes' account: It is a country which is famous, its people are righteous and pious towards gods. Dion Chrysostom declares Indians to be the most happy and the most blessed people on earth, the Phrygians being second. Chrysostom gives the two reasons for this: India is the land of gold, wine and honey flow there. Its Brahmanas excel others in their self-control, righteousness and love of the divine being; they have better knowledge of future than others have of the present. It is interesting to note that this image of India is more or less what is found in the thinking of most Europeans till recent times. Thus Hegel in his *Philosophy of History* written a century and half ago called India "the land of imaginative aspiration" "a mystical region an enchanted world", "the region of phantasy and sensibility." (Sibree's Trans., New York, 1900, p. 139). It is a Land of Desire for the West, because it possesses mysterious hidden wisdom and unsurpassed treasures—gold and diamonds, emeralds, pearls and sapphires, teakwood, ivory and sandalwood, spices and perfumes, alabaster, and cotton and rice. From Graeco-Roman times to recent times this image thus remains constant. To give another instance, a great modern Greek poet Anghelos Sikelianos looks towards India in particular as the source of all spiritual wisdom and deep religious currents of

life that penetrated into the West. It is Indian religion which preserved the great secret that all life is one, for it is derived from and is contained in Divine unity. (P. Sherrard, *The Greek East and the Latin West*, London, 1959).

From the various accounts we have of Alexander's doings in India, it is clear he met and conversed with some Indian ascetics and was highly impressed by them. The Greeks refer to them as "gymnosophists" (*gymnos*-naked, *sophist*-wise teachers).* Pseudo-Callisthenes says Alexander lived with Brahmanas in the country of Oxydrakai (Ksudrakas), they having condescended to receive and instruct him. He also records that Alexander was impressed by the grandeur of their thought and considered it superior to what he knew. If we remember that Alexander was Aristotle's disciple, this is high praise for Brahmana wisdom. Aristobulus (says Strabo) who followed Alexander's expedition saw two sophists, both Brahmanas, at Taxila. Each of them had many disciples. When not otherwise engaged they spent their time in the market-place giving good counsel to those who sought it. Shopkeepers gave them anything they wanted. Alexander admired their endurance and desired to see them; and Arrian praises him for this, because it shows that although he was in the grip of the passion for glory, he was not altogether without a perception of better things. ‡Alexander sent Onesicrates (so recount Plutarch, Arrian and Palladius) to bring the sophists to him. Dandamis was the chief of them. One among them called Calanus refused to talk to Onesicrates till the latter too became naked and became his disciple (Plutarch). But Dandamis was generous and considerate; he heard what the Greek had to say. Onesicrates told him that Alexander, Son of God, wanted to see him and that if Dandamis went he would receive gifts, otherwise he would be killed. As Palladius says, Dandamis without even getting up from the recumbent posture in which he was lying heard this message with indifference and gave a scornful reply.

**Sophist* has also a pejorative sense meaning one who is a fallacious reasoner, a quibbler; but Indian ascetics are never referred to in this sense. Their holiness and sincerity was testified to by all Greeks.

‡Alexander was a noble man, one who first clearly perceived the brotherhood of man; but for various reasons the philosophers of the Peripatetic and Stoic schools were hostile to him (See Tarn, *Alexander*, II, p. 69 etc.). Arrian was a Stoic.

As Dandmis' reply contains a good summary of Brahmana doctrine as the Greeks understood it and as the best sources (Arrian, Plutarch, Palladius) agree on its content, I shall now analyse it.

Dandamis said he was as much a son of God as Alexander. (Arrian). God is the supreme king and creator* of light, peace, life, water, bodies and souls. He is the master of souls; he encloses the souls in flesh and leaves them on earth so that they can prove whether they can live according to his commands. God is not the author of evil; he abhorrs wars and violence. No mortal is God. The body is like a garment to the soul; at death it leaves the body like a torn garment, becomes a spirit and ascends to God. When the soul goes to his presence, God requires an account of its life on earth, judges it and punishes it for its evil.† The soul never dies and cannot be destroyed. (Palladius). It is interesting to note the doctrine that souls too were created and that souls are to face post mortem judgment. No Hindu system of philosophy, except possibly the Pancaratra-Bhagavata, accepts the proposition that souls are created, for anything which is created has a beginning and is destroyable. It must also be noted that Ramanuja denies the Pancaratra acceptance of this doctrine. The idea God is not responsible for evil recalls Iranian dualism. Ambrosius in his account of Dandamis' teaching does not at all refer to God's creation of souls. His version too says God encloses us in flesh to test how we would live in the world after coming from him. Dandamis is also therein reported to have said that God restores again the light of life to the departed. It is not clear whether this indicates transmigration, or resurrection, *i.e.*, a new life again on earth after a rebirth, or an embodied life in the other world. It is also interesting to see that Dandamis says the soul becomes Spirit after death. The distinction between spirit and soul

*Elsewhere I conjectured that this and what an Egyptian Philosopher Ammon told Alexander made him think and reach the conclusion that all men are brothers. See my *Studies in the Problems of Peace*, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1.

†In the *Kausitaki Upanisad* we find the idea of the soul going to heaven, rendering an account of its doings on earth and being judged thereupon. *The Book of Epoch*, and the doctrines of the Essenes and the Gnostics have ideas similar to those of Dandamis.

(Arabic, *Ruh* and *nafs*) is not made in Indian Philosophy,* although spirit is but the *atman* and soul the *suksma sarira* (subtle body consisting of the ten senses, the life principle, *prana*, and mind, *antahkarana*). The spirit is so to say the core of the soul, the *antaratman*. Thus far Dandamis' metaphysics.

I now come to his ethics. Dandamis is satisfied with his circumstances, a hut thatched with leaves, fruits in the forest, and water in the river. To everyone the earth gives enough. By possessing nothing one enjoys tranquillity; one can then have no cares and go anywhere. Whatever can be amassed with anxious care becomes the source of sorrow and vexation and brings ruin in the end.† Whatever was worthy—basic necessities, *viz.*, leaves, drinking water and fruits—Dandamis had already, and anything Alexander could offer was utterly useless to him. He coveted nothing, and was afraid of nothing. If he lived—the fruits and water of India were enough for him, and if he were to be killed he would be glad to be delivered from the body. Only those who want wealth and dread death can be tempted or threatened. (Arrian, Palladius.) Dandamis also wondered why Alexander and his men thus endlessly wandered all over the world without any good coming out of it. (Arrian). So Dandamis did not stir from where he was. Plutarch says that when Dandamis heard about Socrates, Pythagoras and Diogenes, he commented they were men of genius, although from excessive deference to law they very much subjected themselves to it. (Plutarch). Apparently Dandamis meant that Spirit was superior to Law, that the wise man has the norm within himself and is not guided by the positive laws and social conventions.

The Greeks say that one Indian sophist Calanus however has won over to go to Alexander and even joined his entourage. Arrian following Megasthenes says this was due to his lac of self-control. Calanus was rebuked by some Indians for having left fellowship with God and a contented life in the forests without a care, and cheered with the hope of a blessed after-

*But one might say the atman-jiva distinction somewhat corresponds to this.

†These are sentiments found in many Hindu and Buddhistic works and popular *Satakas* like those of Bhatrhari.

life. (Palladius). Calanus however seems to have explained that since he had completed his 40 years' ascetic discipline, he could leave the forest and go with Alexander. (Strabo). Plutarch however says that it was the Taxilas who persuaded Calanus to go to Alexander and that he also advised the Greek king to control his empire from its centre and not wander away to its distant extremities.

We find that Dandamis was also patriotic, he found India had enought to offer him what he wanted; he considered life in Indian forests worthy and highly satisfying and did not want anything better. He also resented Alexander being called master of the world, and his invading India. The patriotism of Indian philosophers comes out very well in other accounts. A number of hill tribes and small states in the plains welcomed Alexander, received him readily and declared for him. Philosophers reviled these peoples and their leaders and exhorted them to revolt against him. Some tribes revolted, and one of these led by a leader named Sambus, who first accepted Alexander's suzerainty but later revolted inspired by philosophers, were particuarly difficult to deal with. After the rebellions were suppressed, Alexander slaughtered or hanged many of the philosophers also. (Arrian, Plutarch). Plutarch further mentions that after suppressing Sambus, Alexander asked the captured philosophers why they encouraged revolts, and they replied that they wanted their people to live with honour and die with honour. It is clear they valued human dignity very highly. Alexander is also reported to have conversed with them. These were some of the things they said: A powerful man who does not make himself feared is loved by the people. He who does the impossible can become God. Life has many evils. One should live as long as he does not think it better to die. (Plutarch). So far about Alexander's encounters with Indian ascetics.

Now I will attempt to summarise what the Western classical writers say about Indian ascetics' discipline (mode of life) and doctrine. Indian philosophers were called Brahmanas, they formed the highest caste in the Indian body politic. (Diodorus, Bardesanes-Porphyry). Their number was the smallest, but in dignity was the highest. (Diodorus). Only by God's decree was one born a Brahmana (Pseudo-Callisthenes). By birth alone

they became heirs to divine wisdom.* (B-Porphyry). They were exempt from all public duties (Diodorus) and taxes, and were not subject to the king's authority. (B-Porphyry). They were neither masters nor servants of others (Diodorus); they owned nothing. (Pseudo-Callisthenes). They were believed to be most dear to gods. (Diodorus, B-Stobaeus). They lived in hermitages on mountain tops, or on the banks of rivers, or in groves near cities. They lead a life of extreme asceticism, celibacy and simplicity, and subsist on vegetarian forest produce. They did not eat cooked food; were either naked or scantily-clad. Abstemiousness and self-control were what they cultivated most. They shunned society and revelled in solitude, silence and fasting. (Megasthenes—Strabo, Porphyry, Pseudo-Callisthenes, Clement, Pseudo-Origen).

Megasthenes-Strabo says that after 37 years of the above kind of life, the Brahmanas returned to normal lives, when they married as many wives as they liked. They wanted many children to support and help them in their work, as they had no servants, and as they wanted earnest disciples to learn their philosophy. Women were not taught philosophy for fear they may impart secrets to the unworthy and thus corrupt mysteries. They were also afraid that after learning philosophy their wives might leave them, for philosophy teaches contempt for pleasure and toil, and for life and death too, and so philosophers do not serve others. (Strabo). A free life was what Indian philosophers prized most. Pseudo-Callisthenes however describes another curious tradition. Male Brahmanas lived on one side of the river and the women on the other side. Every year the males crossed over to the other side once and spent forty days with their wives and returned back, till two children were born to each couple. Thereafter they practised celibacy; but if no children were born they did this for five years. Thereafter under any circumstances they practised continence.†

The above accounts show that the Greeks described the several types of *vanaprasthas* and *sannyasins* who lived in *asramas* and

*Megasthenes does not clearly say that one becomes a Brahmana by birth only. Apollonius certainly says that on the basis of virtue alone one is elected to the college of Brahmanas.

†Customs somewhat similar to this were found among the Brahmanas of Gauda and Kerala.

tapovanas. Descriptions of them are found in the *Ramayana*, the *Mahabharata* and the *Puranas* and they agree with Greek accounts. Megasthenes however seems to have confused *brahmacarya asrama* with the final two *asramas*. The Greeks in general ignored *grhasta* Brahmanas, *i.e.*, Brahmana householders, although Megasthenes refers to sacramental rites (*samskaras*) such as *garbhadharana* and *pumsavana*, *upanayana*, etc., which are all aimed at obtaining good progeny and instructing them about *dharma* and *Brahman*.

I now come to Brahmana doctrines as described by the Greeks. Life was bewailed as it was full of misery. (Plutarch). Our life is like that of babies in wombs. Nothing that happens to man is good or bad; otherwise the same things could not give pleasure to some and cause sorrow to others. (Megasthenes). Death releases man from misery; so it was anticipated with gladness. (Plutarch). Death to a philosopher is birth into a true, *i.e.*, happy, life; he must discipline himself to be ready for death. (Megasthenes). The Brahmanas endure life unwillingly as a hard duty imposed by nature and accelerate release of souls from bodies. (B-Porphyry) Clement, however, says they see no value in life, but also despise death, as they think there is no new birth. By "new birth" he apparently meant resurrection in the Christian sense. Pseudo-Origen also says Brahmanas regard death with contemptuous indifference. To sum up, they were mostly interested in death and afterlife, and attached no value to this world. No wonder the Greeks thought very highly of the Brahmanas, for this was also the Pythagorean-Socratic-Platonic viewpoint. As the Platonic Socrates said, "Those who rightly engage in philosophy study only dying and death." A philosopher "will wish to die, and every man who is worthy of having any part in this study." "A man who has really spent his life in philosophy has reason to be of good cheer when he is about to die, and may well hope after death to gain in the other world the greatest good." (*Phaedo*, F.J. Church's Trans., London, 1946.) Contemplation on the sorrowing Christ and the cross, resignation to suffering and constant suppression of natural instincts, *i.e.*, our corrupt nature, are not unfamiliar Christian themes. "A Christian," said Bossuet, "is never alive on earth because he is ever mortified there and mortification is a trial and

an apprenticeship, a rehearsal for death." (Quoted by Paul Hazard, *The European Mind*, P. 299).

Brahmanas considered the universe to be created and destroyable, and spherical in shape. God created it, regulates it and fully pervades it. They worshipped Deity and knew aright the principles of divine Providence. (Pseudo-Callisthenes). Things are all compounded out of the four great elements, water being more primal than the others. (Megasthenes-Strabo). Souls are immortal. (M. Strabo, Porphyry, Pausanias). Souls are judged after death (M-Strabo); they have intercourse with each other and messages from living persons can be carried to other souls from this world by departing souls. (B-Porphyry). Porphyry and others refer to the practice of ascetics self-immolating themselves. Pseudo Origen says Brahmanas conceive God as Light and Word, not of course physical light or articulate speech. By Word they mean Reason whereby the wise discern hidden mysteries of knowledge. Only when vanity, the outermost covering of the soul, is discarded can the Word be known. Deity gives the body as a covering for the soul. Word is corporeal and wears the body as an external covering as one wears a coat, and when it divests itself of the body, it becomes manifest. Man must wage relentless war against the body, and sensual appetites, which imprison him; then only can he go to God. He who conquers the body is a God. As fish see sunlight when they spring up out of the water into air, Brahmanas see the pure sunlight when they shuffle off bodies. (Pseudo-Origen). The doctrine of *Vak* (Word) is found in Indian philosophy; perhaps this writer had come to have a vague idea of it. It is also interesting that in this passage echoes of a sort of mystic doctrine, word taking on flesh and man becoming God, is echoed. Indian religion, Western mystry religions and Christianity maintained various forms of such a doctrine.

The Greek writers refer to Buddhist *Bhiksus*, the *Sramanas*, also. Megasthenes says Brahmans had greater repute as they were "more in agreement in their dogmas." The Sramanas were drawn from all classes, lived in temples and houses (*viharas*) founded by kings. (Porphyry). They worshipped *stupas* (*Chaityas*) and practised truth. (Clement).

The holiness and sincerity of Brahmanas and Sramanas is

attested to by all writers. "They were better in deeds than words", as Megasthenes said (Strabo). Of course some of them were priests, diviners, astrologers and physicians; these too practised varying degrees of asceticism. Both men and women studied philosophy with them practising celibacy.

I now finally come to the great Neo-Pythagorean teacher Apollonius' account of Indian philosophy. He learnt all he could about Indian philosophy from two persons, King Phraotes of Taxila, and Iarchas, Chief of Brahmanas, who resided on a hill within four days' journey beyond the city Paraka in the country between the rivers Hyphasis (Bias) and Ganges. King Phraotes' palace was like that of any citizen of a better class. He had no sentinels or bodyguards, and had very few servants. The contrast between Babylonian royal pomp and Indian regal simplicity struck the visitors. He was a vegetarian, eating only what he cultivated; he drank little wine; he hunted for exercise but gave away what he killed. Everything about him was simple and moderate. He had few wants, he was wealthy, but he employed his wealth to do good to friends and subsidise neighbouring barbarian tribes to prevent them from ravaging his country and to make them prevent others from making inroads. The king held wisdom to be above royalty. He contrasted the Greek and Indian attitudes to philosophy. In ancient days when a ship came into port, people asked its crew whether they were pirates, because piracy was so common then. Similarly, the Greeks, Phraotes said, asked every stranger whether he was a philosopher. In fact among Greeks philosophy became like piracy, for most borrowed some philosophy or other and strutted about in it awkwardly as if in a stolen ill-fitting garment. Like thieves who are afraid of justice and hurry to enjoy the present hour in gluttony and debauchery, these so-called philosophers profess to be philosophers, but immerse themselves in sensual pleasures. The Greeks punish coiners of bad money, but unfortunately do not punish utterers of a false philosophy. In contrast to this, Phraotes declared in India philosophy was a "high honour", "God's most precious gift to man". One was not allowed to study it unless it was proved that one's character and heredity were pure. Living witnesses and public records had to testify that one's ancestors were good. One had to live

in a Brahmana home for sometime so that his character and intelligence were deemed fit for philosophy. Both conduct and personality including physiognomy were inquired into. One's mind and disposition are mirrored in one's face. After all this only one was taught philosophy. What the Taxila King said was true is known from the Upanisads and Jataka stories. Only to a man of proved moral and intellectual worth was philosophy imparted. It may also be noted that from Janaka of Videha through Phraotes of Taxila to Radhakrishnan at present, philosopher—statesmen are not *only a tradition* but *a living reality* in India.

The king's discourse shows that for ancient Indians philosophy was something which one had to live taking it seriously and as an all-absorbing concern, which could not be just borrowed from others and repeated parrot-wise. With long preparation—mental and moral—it had to be appropriated so that it could become one's disposition and animating faith for which and by which one lived.

I now come to what Apollonius learnt from Iarchas. The Brahmanas do not keep as secret anything which is worthy to be known, especially by those who have an excellent memory*, for, said Iarchas, they honour memory most. They can see into the very soul tracing out its qualities by a thousand signs. (This implies the soul for them was not *nirguna.*) Virtue was the sole criterion for admission to the college of Brahmanas; sometimes their number was 87, sometimes only one, and when Apollonius was there it was 18. Whereas Apollonius considered that to know oneself was the most difficult thing, Iarchas told him that it was the first and elementary knowledge and that only he who knew himself first could know all things. There is a tradition that an Indian stranger told Socrates precisely the same thing. He who is good, Iarchas held, is a god. On the soul and transmigration and possibility of knowing past births, their views were similar to those of Pythagoras. According to Iarchas the Greek view that not to do wrong is to be just was inadequate; it was like the Egyptians praising the Roman proconsuls who were not venal. The world is composed of five coordinate elements; it is a hermaphrodite animal which reproduces all

*[illegible]

creatures by itself and of itself.* It is Intelligence, providing for the wants of creatures and punishing them for wrong-doing. But there is a first God who created the world. Next to him are gods who rule its several parts. The gods are born of ether and mortals of air. Below the earth but distinct from it there is a terrible deadly place (hell). That was Iarchas' cosmology. The Brahmanas believed in astrology and divining power.

Apollonius considered these views wiser and more divine than his own. He thought that Brahmanas dwell on earth and yet not on earth; possessing nothing, they have all things; they live in places fortified, but yet without walls. Apollonius conveys something profound here. Since the soul is always pure and non-doer,† when one acts with detachment, although one acts he does not act. *Karmanyabhipravrttopi naiva kimcitkaroti sah.* (*Gita*, IV, 20. Also V. 7-8, 13.) Those who have achieved balance and tranquillity transcend the world even when alive, for they are established in the Transcendent. They seem to be in the world, but in truth they are abiding in the Transcendent. (*Ibid.*, V. 19, 26.) They are here, yet not here. Such people have nothing, for their egoism (*ahamkara*) is extinct, and they experience isolation (*kaivalya*) and ineffable bliss; also empirically they have abandoned everything (*sannyasa, aparigraha*) and have gone forth (*parivrajana*) from the world; and yet since they have achieved the *summum bonum*, the *atman*, for the sake of which everything is sought, they have everything. Finally, they live in open spaces, in the forests, on the banks of rivers and on mountain tops; their minds are open, they have no spirit of exclusiveness, and no intolerance, they are ever ready to receive Truth. Thus theirs is an open life. On the other hand, having conquered passions and desires, their holiness protects them like armour; nothing of this or the other world can make an onslaught on them or subdue them. They are perfectly free spirits. This is what apparently Apollonius meant as he was speaking about Brahmanas with a new understanding, but Damis and Philostratus interpret him in mythopoeic way,

*Cp. the Vedic myth: out of Purusa was the whole universe born, his limbs being the different parts of the world. The *Puranas* also mention the virat Purusa myth.

†Mainly according to Samkhya and Adviata Vedanta. Some system do not accept this.

as they do not comprehend this insight.

Thus the Greeks, as the great Clement said, realised that philosophy with its blessed advantages "flourished long ago among the barbarians (non-Greeks) including Indians, diffusing its light and eventually penetrated into Greece."

The apocalyptic eschatological teaching of Jesus Christ and St. Paul emphasised renunciation,* celibacy, freedom from enmity, non-resistance to evil and love of enemies. Christ's teaching "was purely and exclusively world-renouncing" (Schweitzer)† and "was unworldiness in its extreme form" (Bishop Gore).‡ Prayer, continence and waiting for the end of the world were practised with puritanical zeal by the early Christians and by the second century there were many celibate Christians. In the scond century continence came to be looked upon as asceticism *par excellence*, and the body and things of the world were abhorred. Some gnostic Christians refused to baptise married persons. In the third century asceticism came to be considered important and honourable. By the fourth century there were communities of male ascetics and virgins especially in Syria and Egypt. Hermit life was considered to be superior to community life. Like Christ, one had to practise charity and self-denial, and achieve perfection through suffering and the martyrdom of self-abnegation, chiefly virginity. The demons want to grab our souls through temptations, chiefly lust, and passions. Sanctity must be cultivated by fasting, mortification, scripture-reading, constant prayer and patient waiting for death. This was the earlier Christian ascetic philosophy. In the third century Clement and Origen propounded that the end of life was the vision of God. (This is what the *Brahmasutra* calls *samradhana.*) This could be achieved only by unceasing concentration on God, contemplation (Cp. *nididhyasana*), which was the object of the ascetic's life. Cultivation of virtue is a means to make the mind fit for this, the highest type of mental activity —worship. This was the final form of Christian ascetic philosophy. Poverty, abstinence, running away from men into solitude, utter obedience sacrificing self-will, all towards

* *Mark*, X. 17-22; *Luke*, XIV. 33; I *John* II. 15.

† *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*, p. 248-9.

‡ *New Commentary on Holy Scripture*, pt. III, p. 287.

achieving, as St. Antony put it, "constant recollection of God",* constituted their discipline. Monks who took to this way of life were found by 375 A.D., all over the deserts surrounding the Nile Valley, Syria and Asia Minor. In Egypt for the first time St. Antony and St. Pachomius introduced organisation and a common life based on a common rule, as a need for discipline and training in holiness were experienced. By 430 A.D., monasticism was popular all over Europe, Cassian who returned from Bethlehem and Egypt being its leading spirit, and lastly between 510-580, St. Benedict published his rule, whereby salvation could be worked out in prayer and holy living, which gave rise to the Benedictine Order.†

The ascetico-mystical philosophy of India influenced the whole of this development; only about the extent of its influence there is no unanimity. Not only this, to some extent it influenced Gnosticism and Manichaeism, as it earlier did the Orphic doctrines, Pythagoreanism and later Stoicism. This was possible because since remote times the Greeks knew about India and from the time of Alexander their interest in it was greater. Right till the fall of Rome, Europe was in continuous contact with India and its image of India to some extent shaped Western religious life especially asceticism and monachism. These spread westwards through Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt.

The Greek understanding of the ascetico-mystical philosophy of India was on the whole correct, if we remember the difficulties of language and communication. This hurdle was likely to be greater when the men who came into contact were not philosophers, or when interpreters were used, for as Dandamis told Onesicrates, water cannot be expected to flow pure through mud. (Strabo). Greek accounts therefore seem with errors, myths and contradictions, but they do catch the essential spirit of Brahmanical ascetic philosophy. They totally fail to have an inkling of the Buddhist doctrines of *nirisvara* (no-God), *anatma* (no-soul) and *nirvana*, and misunderstand the veneration of stupas.

* It is interesting that Ramanuja has all these in his system. Concentration on God (Dhyana) must be like an uninterrupted flow of oil, a continuous stream; it must be of the form of constant remembrance (*satata smrti*), of God. The origins of these ideas in India go back to Narada, Sandilya and the Alwars.

† For above account, O. Chadwick, *Western Asceticism*, Philadelphia 1958

Clement however knew that "Boutta" (Buddha) was honoured like a god because of his holiness, and St. Jerome knew the legend of the virgin-birth of "Buddhas" (Buddha). Authentic or not, the image of India projected by these classical writers was that of a brooding, other-worldly and contemplative India. From ancient times right upto our times (*e.g.*, Schweitzer) there are many who consider Indian philosophy to be world-negating, pessimistic and mystical. It is true there is in Indian thought a strong ascetico-mystical trend, but, it would be a great mistake to suppose this adequately and fully represents the Indian Spirit. Just as Paul, St. Antony, Cassian, St. Benedict and St. Francis represent only one aspect of Western thought and life, Yajnavalkya, Sankara, Jaina and Buddhist monachism, and Hindu sannyasins and Gandhi represent only one aspect of the Indian complex.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Towards the end of the last century J.W. McCrindle collected, annotated and translated in six volumes almost everything written about India in Greek and Latin. In 1916 appeared H.G. Rawlinson's *India and the Western World*, Cambridge. It gives a succinct account of the intercourse between India and the Greco-Roman world from the earliest times to the fall of Rome, based on the entire relevant classical literature. *In The Classical Accounts of India*, Calcutta, 1960, R.C. Majumdar compiled the English translations (mostly McCrindle's) of them in a single accessible volume. In it is also reprinted O. De B. Priaulx's extensive summary of Philostratus' Life of Apollonius, published in 1873. Also of use are: W.W. Tarn, *Alexander the Great*, 2 vols., and *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, both Cambridge, 1948 & 1951; A.K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks*, Oxford, 1957; and S. Radhakrishnan, *Eastern Religions and Western Thought*, Oxford, 1940.

Approaches to the Fourth Five Year Plan in Education

BY J.P. NAIK

The preliminary work on the Fourth Five Year Plan in education has been started, both at the Centre and in the States and some indication of the general thinking on the problem is now available. During the next twenty-four months, the plan will have to be finalised in all its details. It appears to me, therefore, that the next six months could be advantageously devoted to a discussion of the possible different approaches to the Fourth Five Year Plan in education and to the outcomes, advantages and disadvantages of each such approach. Such a discussion alone can enable us to decide upon the most advantageous approach that would secure the best results from the funds invested. This paper is an attempt to 'think aloud' on this issue.

II

Before we come to the discussion proper, a preliminary issue can be raised with advantage: What have been our general approaches to educational planning in the first three plans and what have been their results?

The most outstanding aspect of our planning so far is *the adoption of the 'comprehensive' as against the 'selected sector' approach.* In other words, we have tried to do 'something' of 'everything'. This is obviously the easier line of least resistance because thereby we avoid the difficult problem of 'priorities'. It also finds considerable support in the 'democratic' context because almost every programme in education is essentially good and desirable, every such programme has some godfather (or what is often worse, some godmother) to support it, and the distraught Education Ministers generally try to please all by adopting the comprehensive approach. In the result, the meagre resources available get spread thinly over an undesirably large

area and the attempt which began by trying to please all, generally ends in disappointing almost every one. This is one reason why the education programme has the largest number of critics. In spite of these realisations, the comprehensive approach is likely to continue in the fourth plan also through sheer momentum of the past.

The second important feature of the first three plans is their emphasis on expansion. This was inevitable for several reasons. The public hunger for education has tremendously increased in the post-independence period. In several areas, particularly those under the princely States, educational facilities were so limited that rapid expansion had to be resorted to in order to bridge the gap between them and the more advanced areas. The same attempt to provide equality of educational opportunity in other sectors by extending educational facilities to rural areas, to girls, to the weaker sections of the community such as the scheduled castes and tribes, led to further expansion. The desire to implement the directive of Article 45 of the Constitution led to an unprecedented expansion of elementary education and it created pressures from below which have been gradually mounting up in the secondary and university sectors also. The old 'job' values which went with elementary education practically disappeared and hence the job-seekers came to look upon secondary as the 'minimum' and 'university' as the optimum education they need have. This created further pressures in secondary and higher education which were increased still further by the policy to provide very liberal freeships and scholarships and to open new institutions without adequate (or even any) regard to the essential facilities needed for a minimum standard of education. Consequently, the expansion at the secondary and university stages has been even greater than at the elementary stage and has now gathered a momentum which would be extremely difficult to control. In the sector of vocational, technical and professional education, expansion has probably been the largest; but in this long neglected area, it has been welcomed on all hands. The net effect of all these complex factors is that programmes of expansion have dominated all educational planning in the last fifteen years and have, by now, been so deeply built into the

system that they threaten to dominate the fourth plan as well.

The third significant feature of our educational planning is the comparative neglect of quality. In view of the limited resources available, such a dilution of quality is generally inevitable if one has to adopt the comprehensive approach and stress expansion. But what pains one is three typical failures which have made the situation much worse than what it would have been. The first of these is the failure to identify and promote 'essential' sectors which require little investment but have a large effect on quality. For instance, strengthening and improvement of State Education Departments could be a very major programme of qualitative improvement requiring comparatively limited outlay. But we have generally neglected and weakened them. The development of research which would assist the teacher in improving his class-room techniques, the revision of curricula, and the preparation of better text-books are other programmes of qualitative improvement which need talent rather than financial resources. But all these have been comparatively neglected. Teacher-training, particularly in-service training, has a very large correlation with qualitative improvement. But pre-service training has been generally neglected and in-service training has hardly made a beginning.

The second type of failure arises from the fact that we have often converted an essentially 'qualitative' programme into a 'quantitative' one. Basic education provides a good example. This is essentially a qualitative programme and our attempt should have been to define precisely the minimum criteria for a basic school and to ensure that they are provided in every school converted to the basic pattern. But this was not done. A desire to see 'more' basic schools led to the pre-mature conversion of large numbers of schools to the basic pattern by merely making a non-recurring grant to provide the equipment for teaching a craft (and not infrequently, even without this elementary provision). This approach has given us better 'statistics'; but the quality of the so-called basic schools leaves much to be desired—a fact which rightly led Dr. Zakir Husain to describe the implementation of the experiment as a 'fraud'. This has happened in other sectors also *e.g.*, multi-purpose schools, higher secondary schools and training institutions. A qualitative approach

needs an uncompromising firm stand on certain minimum essentials and a limitation on quality in the light of resources available in men and money What we have often done is just the opposite—to dilute the quality of even qualitative programmes in an unwise attempt to expand quality itself.

The third type of failure in qualitative improvement is due to the adoption of the 'comprehensive' rather than the 'selective' approach in developing educational institutions. For each educanal institution, there is a minimum level where the 'take off' takes place. Below this level, the institution has a tendency to slide down still further; but once this level is reached, quality gets built into its essential fabric and it tends to rise higher on the basis of its own momentum. In a qualitative programme, therefore, it is essential to select a small number of institutions—on the basis of resources available—and to develop them to this minimum standard. Such a programme creates a number of good institutions in the first instance and later on helps others to be 'good' and the good ones, to be better. Unfortunately, we have not adopted this approach by and large and the meagre resources available have been frittered away in trying to do 'something' for almost all institutions.

The fourth important feature of the first three plans is that they are not rooted in any long-term plan and hence live merely from day-to-day. As early as 1944, we had the Sargent Plan which tried to outline educational development over a period of forty years (1945-85). But, for several reasons, this was not adopted as a basis of educational development. One need not quarrel with this decision. But we should then have prepared another perspective plan of educational development and orientated our five year plans in the light of that document. This also was not done and till 1960-61, our educational development was planned on an ad-hoc short-range basis. When the third plan was being prepared, a suggestion was made that it should be orientated against the background of a long-range plan of educational development spread over fifteen years. But this suggestion was not acted upon. We are now attempting the Fourth Plan; but even at this stage, there appears to be no prospect of preparing a perspective plan to cover the period from 1966 to 1981 and in all probability, the Fourth Plan also

will be a short-range plan.

The fifth significant feature of the first three plans is the lack of emphasis on evaluation—both of results and of techniques. Planning is a new discipline for us and we can hope to get the best results only if we continue to evaluate our experience and learn from our mistakes. But unfortunately, very little work has been done to evaluate educational developments. The criteria which we have evolved to measure progress are mainly two: enrolments and expenditure; and these are obviously crude and elementary. There is no built-in machinery for evaluation, either at the State level or at the Centre. The ad hoc machinery of COPP teams has been used only once in education (that too in the third plan). Consequently, we have not been able to develop adequate techniques of planning, forceful methods of implementation, and most effective methods of investing the meagre resources available. Even today, very little stock-taking is being done and there is every likelihood that the bulk of our past mistakes would continue to hamper the Fourth Plan also.

We are now at cross roads in educational planning. Several choices are open to us and we have to decide the choice or choices which can help us best. Fortunately, we are also in more advantageous position now than at any time in the past, because we have the experience of three Five Year Plans before us. If we make a wise use of this experience, it will be possible for us to prepare a good perspective programme of educational development spread over the next three plans and also the fourth Five Year Plan.

III

Before we take up the preparation and finalisation of the Fourth Five-Year Plan in earnest, two preliminary exercises will have to be done : the preparation of a perspective plan to cover the period from 1966 to 1981; and the evaluation of the experience gained in the first three Five-Year Plans, especially with a view to identifying these programmes which have yielded good results and those which have failed.

The need for the perspective plan is obvious. The principal targets and content of the Fourth Five Year Plan can be determined in two ways. The first is to work up from below,

that is to say, to project the anticipated enrolment and the essential qualitative programmes in different sectors on the basis of the experience of the three earlier plans. The second is to visualise the position that the country should reach by the end of the sixth Plan (1980-81) and, by working backwards therefrom to the position likely to be reached at the end of the third Plan (1965-66), to prepare a broad break up of the educational developments needed in the fourth, fifth and the sixth Plans. If these two methods are properly worked out, they should not lead to widely divergent conclusions. In the interest of accuracy, however, it is desirable to try both these methods and then to finalise the content of the Fourth Five-Year Plan on the combined basis of the results obtained separately through each of them. If this principle is agreed to, it follows that the work of preparing and finalizing the perspective plan of educational development (1966-81) and the Fourth Five-Year Plan (1966-71) would have to be pursued simultaneously during the next two years—1964 and 1965. During 1964, the emphasis would be on the preparation of the perspective plan; and, in 1965, it should shift to the finalization of the Fourth Five Year Plan.

The second important preliminary exercise is to evaluate the past experience in educational planning with a view to identifying the essential *do's* and *do'nts*. For instance, I can readily put down a few programmes which need reconsideration :

(1) *Pattern of school education* : I am afraid that we have made too much of a fetish of the pattern of school classes. It is really an unreal issue. What is important is the provision of facilities in adequate quantity and quality—teachers, buildings, equipment, text-books, teaching aids and reading materials. Without adequate concentration on these essentials, we have been pursuing the mirage of a 'pattern'. Besides, it is wrong to believe that standards can improve by taking away one year from the college and adding it to the school. In fact, the only result of such a change would be to bring down quality. It is also wrong to cut down the total period of schooling—our attempt must be to expand it continually. It would, therefore, be better if we reexamine our stand on this issue and adopt a reasonable and realistic approach in the Fourth Plan.

(2) *Selection of Schemes*: We have developed a tendency to emphasise schemes where expenditure can be incurred more easily in preference to those where a greater mental exertion is needed. For instance, the schemes of expansion find ready favour with the administrative machinery because, by the simple act of appointing additional teachers, a very large expenditure can be incurred with little or no effort and the financial targets on which we lay so great an emphasis could be readily fulfilled. On the other hand, a scheme like the preparation of improved textbooks or textbooks for tribal children finds little favour, mainly because it needs an immense amount of human effort and talent but no large scale expenditure. Several examples of this type can be given in every sector of education. In fact, the programmes we can implement through sheer hard work of the mind and body and which involve little or no extra expenditure are legion. Instead of concentrating on these, we emphasize programmes that need money so that we can rationalize our laziness. This unhappy trend would have to be reversed if we mean to progress quickly.

(3) *Central grants* : We have tried a number of different bases to provide Central grants to State Governments for educational develpment. In the first Plan, we evolved a varied and complicated structure of grant-in-aid which included a large number of schemes with different rates of grant-in-aid. Sometimes, the rates of grant-in-aid varied between recurring and non-recurring expenditure in the same scheme. In the Second Plan, this bewildering complexity was reduced by giving assistance to four sectors of education and a further step was taken in the Third Plan, when assistance was given to the plan as a whole. While these changes have led to administrative simplicity, the Centre's authority to secure desirable educational development through financial assisance has been considerably reduced and the States have now developed an attitude which amounts in practice to saying : 'give us the money and leave us alone'. In particular, the reduction of the Centrally-sponsored sector to the absolute minimum (as has been done in the third Plan) has had a very undesirable effect on educational progress. It is, therefore, necessary to examine, *ab initio*, the entire problem of Central grants to State Governments and in

particular, the rôle which a centrally-sponsored sector can play. A good deal of improvement that may or may not happen in the fourth Plan depends very largely on what the centrally-sponsored sector is going to be, both in its objectives and quantum.

I do not think that it is necessary to give further illustrations. But an evaluative exercise on the lines indicated above would have to be carried out in every sector of education and it will lead to fruitful dividends by suggesting the *do's* and *don'ts* for the fourth Five Year Plan.

IV

Assuming that these two preliminary exercises have been carried out, we can turn to the discussion of the different approaches that may be adopted to educational development in the fourth Five Year Plan.

The first approach would be a *continuation of the approaches adopted earlier in the first three plans.* In all of them, we adopted the comprehensive approach and tried to do something in every sector, both from the quantitative and the qualitative point of view. Taking the plan as a whole, however, the bulk of resources available in all these three plans was devoted to quantitative expansion and programmes of qualitative improvement were played in a minor key. On all these occasions, planning was done in two stages. In the first stage, a need-based approach was adopted and the financial implications of what was regarded as an irreducible minimum programme of development were worked out. Later on, it was discovered that the actual resources available were only about half of what were needed. The process of cutting down was then undertaken rather hurriedly and in the final result, the priorities got considerably distorted and schemes of qualitative improvement generally went to the wall. In actual practice, the resources available proved to be of an even smaller order and the priorities got distorted still further. This has become particularly noticeable in the Third Plan.

It appears that this drama, in its entirety, is likely to be repeated with respect to the Fourth Plan as well. A large number of working groups have been set up to consider the programmes of development in the different sectors of education. Each

group has prepared an outline of what, in its opinion, is the irreducible minimum programme of development in the concerned sector and has also estimated the financial outlay necessary for it. The sum total of all these programmes is extremely large—about Rs. 25,000 million. The general estimate is that the financial resources available for education in the Fourth Plan would be somewhere between Rs. 8000 and 12000 million. In due course, therefore, the process of cutting down would also be undertaken and one would not be surprised if the Fourth Plan becomes more or less a replica of the Third Plan—which has hardly satisfied the people—on a slightly bigger scale. This is an eventuality which we should try to avoid, if that were possible; and that is essentially the reason for this proposal to work out the implications of a number of alternative approaches before a final decision is taken.

V

An alternative approach would be to decide that *the fourth Plan should be a plan for consolidation.* There has been a terrific expansion in the first three plans and there is nothing wrong if the fourth plan is utilized for consolidation and another spurt of intensive expansion is undertaken in the fifth Plan. There need be no reduction in the targets of expansion to be reached at the end of the fifth Plan. But the same point can be reached in two ways : (a) through continuous expansion in the fourth and fifth Plans; or (b) an attempt at consolidation in the fourth Plan followed by an intensive spurt in the fifth Plan. The thesis presented here is that the second of these is the better alternative.

An approach for consolidation does not imply a total elimination of expansion which is neither possible nor desirable. It, however, means two things : the abandonment of measures, such as the organisation of enrolment drives at the primary stage, which tend to increase the tempo of expansion; and the adoption of measures which, directly or indirectly, tend to cut down expansion. For instance, we may adopt a policy on the lines indicated below :

(1) *Elementary Stage* : The policy of the State should be to provide a school, primary or middle, within easy distance of the home of every child. Moreover, admission should not be

refused to any child who seeks it. Subject to these limitations, however, any further expansion of elementary education should be left to the normal tempo of development, which may bring in an increase of about 5 percent per year as against an increase of 8-10 per cent per annum which has been achieved in the third Plan. Such a policy is not necessarily contradictory to the directive of Article 45 of the Constitution. Compulsory elementary education does not mean straining after the last truant. An enrolment of about 85 per cent of the children in the age-group should be deemed equivalent to the provision of facilities for universal education and thereafter the emphasis should shift to qualitative improvement. This stage would be reached in all urban areas and in a majority of rural areas by the end of the third Plan.

(2) *Secondary Education* : Here, the largest expansion has taken place due to three major reasons : the absence of a public examination at the point of transition from the elementary to the secondary stage; a rapid expansion of facilities for free education; and the indiscriminate opening of new secondary schools by relaxing even the minimum conditions required for recognition. In the fourth Plan, an attempt may be made to provide a secondary school in all those areas which have not been covered already and to bring a secondary school within about 5-7 miles from the home of every child. But some restrictive measures could also be adopted. For instance, the proportion of students in class VIII who pass on to class IX has increased from about 70 per cent in 1949-50 to 80 per cent in 1960-61 and is expected to rise to 90-95 per cent in the fourth Five Year Plan. The mere introduction of a public examination at the end of class VIII (or class VII, as the case may be) will, apart from improving standards, also cut down the proportion of students passing to higher education very substantially. An increase in fees, or at least the levy of a betterment fund (under which the contributions from children would be utilised to provide improved educational facilities in the school concerned) should be considered. In the same way, a rigorous insistence on the conditions of recognition would also put a brake on the present tempo of expansion at this stage.

(3) *Higher Education (General)*: Here also an insistence

on the minimum conditions required for recognition and an increase in fees could be adopted for slowing down the tempo of expansion. At this stage, and also at the secondary stage, there is no intention to prevent the secondary and higher education of any talented child. In fact, this should be encouraged by the provision of scholarships and stipends on a more liberal scale. What is suggested, however, is a reduction in the tempo of expansion in the unwanted sector, i.e., prosecution of studies at the secondary and higher stages by mediocre or sub-standard students who do not profit from such instruction and who may be better diverted to terminal and vocational courses.

This policy does not also imply any dimunition in the tempo of expansion in the sectors which badly need such expansion, i.e., vocational and technical education at the secondary and university stages. Here, the tempo of expansion should even be intensified to the extent possible. What is claimed is that a reduction in the tempo of expansion in the general education sector may release the much needed funds for the expansion in the vocational and technical sectors.

A mere reduction of the tempo of expansion does not, in itself, constitute consolidation. It is, even when successful, a merely negative act. What consolidation needs is positive measures for qualitative improvement. For this purpose, programmes of qualitative improvement will have to be identified and the bulk of funds available devoted to them. These programmes would include such items as improvement of teachers; provision of adequate buildings and equipment; improvement of supervision; the development of better curricula, textbooks, reading materials and teaching techniques. The nature of the programmes of qualitative improvement may vary from stage to stage and from one State to another. But what is suggested here is that the bulk of the funds available, say about 60-70%, should be devoted to programmes of qualitative improvement and that quantitative expansion should be played in a minor key.

VI

A third alternative approach to the fourth Five Year Plan would be *to decide that it would make, not a comprehensive approach to educational planning, but a 'selected sector' approach.*

In this approach, the first attempt to be made is to identify those sectors which are extremely vital to the future development of education and to concentrate on them intensively enough to make a real break through. The other sectors are not totally neglected; but they are played in a minor key and left mainly to private enterprise with little or no aid from the State. Such a neglect would not do any harm because the neglected areas would be more or less marginal in significance. On the other hand, the country will benefit greatly from the intensive emphasis placed on the really significant sectors.

Which are the significant sectors, which may be selected for an intensive treatment in the fourth Plan? The following may be suggested :—

(1) *Post-graduate stage* : In the future development of Indian education, especially from the qualitative point of view, the significance of the post-graduate sector cannot be overestimated. Today, this has almost become a bottleneck because the expansion at the lower stage is increasing quite out of proportion to the growth at the post-graduate stage. Consequently, we do not get good teachers for colleges. This dilutes under-graduate education and makes it difficult to get good teachers for secondary schools. In its turn, this dilutes secondary education itself and makes it impossible for us to get good teachers for elementary schools. The only way to break this vicious circle is to double or even treble the output at the post-graduate stage. At the same time, we must also take steps to see that the highest possible quality is maintained at the post-graduate stage, because the persons studying at this level have a 'seed' value and would ultimately fertilize the whole field of education. The attempt in this sector should therefore be both qualitative and quantitative.

(2) *Teacher-improvement* : No qualitative progress of educational development is possible without an improvement in teachers. Our expansion has far outrun our capacity to produce good teachers and this is the main reason for the dilution of quality. It would, therefore, be worthwhile to concentrate, in the fourth Plan, on all such measures which improve teachers at all stages—elementary, secondary and university. This will involve an improvement in remuneration; the provision of old

age benefits; institution of welfare service; improvement and expansion of training institutions; and provision of in-service training. Every rupee invested in this sector will pay multiple dividends.

(3) *Supervision and Inspection* : As already pointed out, this is a crucial sector of educational development, and yet it has been weakened and allowed to deteriorate in the first three Plans. An intensive development of this sector by strengthening and reorganizing the education department and providing in-service training for departmental officers will have immeasurable good results in proportion to the investment made.

(4) *Social Education* : Social education has been neglected in all the three Plans. It is a pity that, even today, after 16 years of freedom the percentage of literacy is still about 30. There is no point in carrying on a small marginal programme for social education as we do at present by spending about Rs. 10 million a year. Either we should take up a massive programme of liquidating the bulk of illiteracy within the next 10 years and provide all the necessary funds for it or leave this sector out altogether.

(5) *Development of Research* : Education ultimately boils down to the teaching and learning processes that take place in thousands of class-rooms simultaneously. Any investment made to improve the techniques adopted in this process and to assist the teachers to a better performance will have the best of results. But this implies development of research on a very large scale by talented and competent persons. This is another area which has been almost totally neglected so far. Since research takes time to grow and to show fruitful results the earlier we make a massive beginning in this sector the better.

Aid to Students : Programmes like school meals at the primary stage the provision of free books and reading materials at all stages, the provision of reading centres and such other facilities at the higher stage and other aids to students will go a very long way in qualitative improvement of education. These have been by and large neglected so far.

Cultivation of Talent : At the primary stage, it is the responsibility of the State to get every child into school. That is essential for social justice and even for the discovery of talent.

But at the secondary and higher stages, the State need not, in the fourth Plan at least assume any responsibility beyond the cultivation of talent and the provision of the best opportunities possible for the education of gifted children. This will imply a liberal provision of scholarships; but it should also go much beyond and cover the placing of talented students into good schools where they would get the maximum benefit through their contact with good teachers and proper atmosphere.

The list of selected sectors given above is not claimed to be perfect. Starting on some other principles an entirely different list can also be drawn up. For instance it is possible to make out a case for emphasising such sectors as the teaching of science; improving the standards in English; development of regional language so as to make them ultimately suitable as media of instruction at all stages; universalisation of basic education; and introduction of productive work in schools and colleges. It is not these details which need be insisted upon at this stage. The main thesis to be emphasized is that, in view of the limited resources available, a few significant sectors of educational development should be selected for massive treatment and others left out altogether.

The basic difficulty in this approach does not lie so much in the inclusion of some sectors in omitting others. In this context, it may be pointed out that, at present, we waste a good deal of energy and funds over programmes which can 'at best' be described as of 'fringe' value. Some of the schemes included in the Central sector such as the propagation of Gandhian teachings, financial assistance to voluntary educational organisations, labour and social service camps, or campus works projects, may be left out altogether without any harmful effects. They merely succeed in getting a large number of officials busy over petty matters and create an illusion of activity without having any significant impact on the educational problem. Such a step would leave the Ministry free to think of the really vital problems. By and large, what is said here about the Central sector is also applicable to the State schemes.

Shri R. A. Gopalaswami calls this approach 'rationing of public expenditure on education' and the expression really conveys the basic idea underlying the proposals. An

implementation of this policy will need a firm handling of the priorities involved and a certain mercilessness. This is highly desirable because one of the major weaknesses of the present day planning is that it has grown too soft and susceptible to all types of pressures.

VII

Three different approaches to the fourth Plan are described above :

(1) The continuation of the approach adopted in the first three Five Year Plans, namely, comprehensive approach, emphasis on quantity and a comprehensive neglect of quality;

(2) The Consolidation Approach; and

(3) The Selected-Sector Approach.

It is also possible to combine these approaches in a number of ways. For instance, we may take the consolidation approach at the primary stage, the expansion approach at the post-graduate stage and the selected-sector approach with regard to teacher training at all stages. But these possible permutations and combinations need not be discussed. What has been stated above is enough to indicate the broad choices open to us in preparing and finalizing the fourth Five Year Plan.

To achieve the best results, however, it is necessary to follow up the approach adopted by three further measures:—

(1) Intensive efforts to raise additional resources;

(2) Evolution of a new concept of the Centrally-Sponsored Sector; and

(3) Emphasis on the human factor.

These would be discussed briefly in this and the following two sections.

The first three Five Year Plans were based on the assumption that the defence expenditure of the country should be kept at the minimum and that most of the resources available should be diverted to development. In the next 10-15 years, this assumption will have to be changed and development will have to be planned, side by side with an attempt to expand the defence potential. This would inevitably place limitations on the funds that the public sector can provide for educational development. It is, therefore, necessary to reverse a trend which has naturally grown up in the first three Plans—the tendency to pass on an

ever-increasing financial burden to public funds, particularly to Central and State funds, and to minimise the resources raised in the private sector. In this connection, a number of suggestions can be made from among which a few are given below :—

(1) The local communities, through powers of increasing local taxation on land and buildings, can make a much larger contribution to the development of elementary education than they do at present. Any increase in the land taxes at the State level has become politically inconvenient and impossible. Probably, these sources could be exploited better at the local level, if the additional resources could be earmarked for local benefits such as those in the field of elementary education.

(2) We should develop a school improvement programme on the lines of the Madras State. Here an intensive effort is made to take the elementary schools closer to the people and to seek assistance from the public for such programmes as construction of buildings, provision of equipment and ancillary services like school meals. So far, Madras has collected about Rs. 550 million through private contributions for the improvement of elementary education. Programmes of this type should be organised in all parts of the country in the fourth Plan; and the preparatory work for them should be done in the remaining two years of the third Plan.

(3) At the secondary and college stages, we should seriously examine the question of increasing fees. We should have an adequate provision of free studentships and scholarships for the gifted children. But it is not these gifted children that are swelling the secondary schools and colleges at present. While we cannot object to the rush of mediocre or even less than mediocre children in secondary schools and colleges, there is hardly any point in spending the hard-earned public funds on their education. We should, therefore, make them pay for their secondary and higher education, if they desire to have it, through a fairly substantial raising of fees.

(4) At the University stage, we should have a scheme of loan scholarships only. The University students would start earning in three or four years and there is no reason why they should not get a loan scholarship and pay for their own higher education.

This proposal needs some elaboration. In this context, it is suggested that we should establish a National Scholarships Corporation of India on the lines of the LIC Corporation. Every student, who gets more than a prescribed percentage of marks in the examination of the secondary school (or in his B.A. or M.A. examination) should be entitled to get a loan scholarship for higher studies. The amount of the scholarships should be adequate to meet his expenses. This loan should be repaid by him in Fifteen yearly instalments which would begin one year after he gets employment and starts earning and there should be a statutory provision for collection of instalments, through deduction of his salary at source, on the lines of the Income-Tax Act. The amount of repayment should be proportionate to his income. In other words, those who get less than a certain income (say Rs. 150) would not repay it at all. Others would repay it at a certain percentage of their monthly salary; the rate of repaying rising with an increase in salary. No student, however, should be required to pay more than twice the amount that he had borrowed. On acturial basis, it may be possible to decide the contribution of each person for the repayment of this loan on the basis of his annual or monthly earnings after employment. In short, what is proposed here is an inverted educational insurance policy. A prudent father now-a-days takes out an educational insurance policy for his child as soon as he is born. He pays the prescribed premia for fifteen years and finds that he has, at his disposal, a sum which would enable him to give college education to his child as soon as he attains the age of 16. What is proposed here is exactly the same. But instead of making the parent take the educational insurance policy, it is suggested that the student himself should be made responsible to take it out in an inverted fashion, that is to say, the payments of the policy should be made in the first three to six years and the premia for it should be recovered in the succeeding fifteen years.

It is suggested that, right from now, serious thinking should be undertaken on two lines : the raising of the maximum resources possible in the public sector through according a higher priority to education than it has received in the first three plans; and devising ways and means to supplement the public sector

resources through contributions of local bodies, local communities and the parents. It is only this combined approach that would help us to go the longest way.

VIII

The second important point which deserves careful study is to define the objectives and quantum of the Centrally-sponsored sector. The State Governments now receive a block assistance for their plan as a whole. This system has several features to commend it and is likely to continue in the fourth Plan. There should be no objection to this. It has, however, to be realized that the pattern of assistance for different schemes, under this overall method of Central assistance, has hardly any meaning in actual practice. The States have now realised that our describing some schemes in the Plan as having 100 per cent assistance and others as having 50 per cent assistance does not take them anywhere. Irrespective of the pattern, they do get the Central assistance promised—neither less nor more. What they are now asking for, therefore, is the creation of a large Centrally-sponsored sector. In the set up of the third Plan, there is hardly any room for this. An important proposal which we should, therefore, consider for the fourth Plan is to create a fairly large Centrally-sponsored sector, say of Rs. 3,000 million or so or about 30 per cent of the total funds available for educational development in the fourth Plan.

If this is done, two problems will have to be satisfactorily solved; how are these funds in the Centrally-sponsored sector to be distributed to the different States? and to what purposes is it to be assigned? For the distribution of the amount among the different States, a number of alternatives can be suggested. For instance, we may set aside 20 per cent of the Centrally-sponsored sector for special assistance to the less advanced States and the remaining 80 per cent could be distributed among all the States on the basis of enrolments in schools or total population or any other equitable basis. Alternatively, we may earmark the total amount in the Centrally-sponsored sector to specific purposes (i.e., the development of selected sectors) and then make the grants available to the different States on the basis of their needs and their capacity to spend the amounts usefully. With regard to the second problem, viz., the purposes to which such

a Centrally-sponsored sector could be devoted, the main principles would be two : it should be earmarked for sectors like educational research, technical education, post-graduate studies or the development of science for which the Centre has a clearly recognised responsibility; and it should also be earmarked for programmes of qualitative improvement, like teacher education, which always suffer at the State level because the State Governments are more susceptible to pressure of quantitative expansion. A third alternative can also be that, after the funds are allocated to each State on some equitable basis (such as population or student enrolment), each State Government should be left free to choose, with the prior approval of the Central Government, the areas or sectors of qualitative development for which it would utilise these funds.

The main thesis put forward here is that the significant areas of educational development which have a 'seed' value can only be protected adequately by putting them in the Centrally-sponsored sector so that they are comparatively immune to local quantitative pressures. An approach to educational planning on this basis in the fourth Plan would lead to better results and would be a definite improvement on the present situation where the Centre does not even know how its grants are being actually utilised in practice until it is too late and is totally helpless to take any remedial measures even in cases where a misuse or mis-direction has come to its notice.

IX

The third important programme is to emphasize the human factor in educational development. Better education does need more investment and more physical resources, no doubt. But it needs the human efforts even more—the combined efforts of the officers of the Education Department, the teachers, the students and the parents. Today, there is a tendency for each of these human agencies to work less and less, both in quantity and in quality, and to demand more of financial investment and physical facilities on the ground that these are inescapable for better education. The fallacy of this trend is obvious and an attempt should be made in the fourth Plan to organise a nation-wide programme of educational improvement at all stages—from the elementary to the university—by trying to motivate

human agencies concerned to a more intensive and a better planned endeavour. The basic assumptions underlying such an important programme may be stated somewhat on the lines indicated below :

(1) The main spring of the qualitative improvement of education lies in the will and effort of the people concerned with the programme of instruction : parents or the school community, teachers, administrative and supervisory personnel, and students. An intelligently planned and concerted action on the part of these human agencies, continuously maintained over a sufficiently long period, will secure greater improvement in quality than any financial investment, however large, can ever hope to do. The basis of this movement should, therefore, be to motivate these human agencies to put in their best efforts, in a coordinated manner, for the improvement of education and to maintain the tempo of action so generated over a fairly long period, say, the next three plans.

(2) Every educational institution, even within its existing resources, limited as they may be, can do a great deal to improve the quality of education it provides, through better planning and harder work. This does not mean that no attempt is to be made to improve the physical resources available to the institution. In fact, one of the primary objectives of the movement would be to try to provide better physical resources to educational institutions through the combined efforts of the State and the community. But what is emphasized is the possibility of improving the educational programme, through better planning and harder work, in spite of the deficiencies in physical resources.

(3) To obtain the best results in the improvement programme, it is essential to regard each institution as a unit, complete in itself, and to prepare a fairly long-range programme for its development, through the concerted thinking of the parents, teachers and the Department with the specific objective of providing the best possible programme of education to each child enrolled.

(4) The secret of the success of the improvement programme lies in two things : (a) intelligent planning and (b) continuity of effort which should animate all activities, day after day and

year after year.

(5) In a situation of the type which we now have in India, where human resources are far more plentiful than the physical ones, only those programmes can hope to succeed which emphasize the use of physical resources and stress the achievements of the human factor through harder, well-planned and continuous effort. So far, the basic approach in programmes of qualitative improvement has stressed the provision of physical facilities rather than the operation of the human factors. The improvement programme aims to reverse this process, and to stress the role which the sum total of the combined efforts of teachers, supervisors, parents and students themselves can make to qualitative improvement of education.

It is possible to organise educational improvement programmes on these lines at all levels and to develop them, on a national basis. If the principle is once agreed to, working out the details would not present a major problem.

X

It would have been evident that the primary object of this paper is, not to present any ready-made solution to the complex problems of educational planning that we shall have to face in the fourth Plan, but to pose certain problems and to initiate thinking in all different quarters which are connected with education-legislatures, State Education Departments, Universities, press, teachers, and interested and enlightened public. If that were to be secured, the purpose of this preliminary endeavour would have been more than served.

23

In Earnest of a Promised Contribution

Letter from LOUIS SMITH

Dear Mr. Rashid :

To my sorrow I was unable to bring to completion by the mid-June deadline my essay for the volume being published in honour of Mr. K. G. Saiyidain. A number of unexpected *ex-officio* assignments of a very urgent nature and with an earlier time priority simply had to be given precedence over this piece of writing.

Although the conflict of obligations was unavoidable, I am quite disappointed and chagrined. This is the first time in my career that I have failed to meet a writing deadline.

To fall down on a writing commitment in honour of my good friend Professor Saiyidain is particularly distressing. I hold him in the highest regard, both as a friend and as the educational statesman he truly is. Although distance and the lack of regular communication combine to keep me from knowing the full measure of his contribution to Indian education through his activities in the Ministry of Education and elsewhere, I am familiar enough with his achievements to realize the scope and quality of his leadership. Professor Saiyidain is a modest man, unwilling to trumpet his accomplishments in the press and from the speaker's platform. Also, he was true to his role as a civil servant and maintained his anonymity throughout his years of service in the Ministry of Education with complete propriety.

He is a more versatile man than I at first realized, being a graceful writer, '....and a philosopher of fine insight and understanding, with an ability to handle complex ideas with a seeming simplicity, being always very clear and very objective....

He is both a gentleman and a gentle man. I have admired his calm and courtesy, his respect for all people, and his total lack of pomp and self-promotion. He is a charming and witty companion, skilled in small-talk but stingy with wit and badinage unless others share in it. It is always a pleasure to be in his company.

I was greatly saddened when Mrs. Saiyidain became fatally ill during his year at the University of Wisconsin as a visiting professor. I know he felt her death very deeply. Nonetheless he bore himself with splendid fortitude and dignity. Although he was unable to complete this tour of duty, he endeared himself to his colleagues and students during the time he was in Madison. I admired his equanimity and strength of spirit during this period.

The essay I had planned for the *festschrift* was entitled : EDUCATION AS A FACTOR IN NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT, WITH PARTICULAR ATTENTION TO DEVELOPMENT PLANNING IN INDIA.

As you well know, two aspects of education's role in national development are currently receiving much attention : (1) the manpower emphasis, which deals with the balancing of a new nation's personnel requirements with a training scheme which will deliver the kind and number of high-level, middle-level, technician-level, and semi-skilled workers at the exact moment of need; and (2) the function as "human capital" of high-level leaders and of highly trained workers.

Professor Theodore Schultz of the University of Chicago and Professor Frederick Harbison of Princeton University are the American pioneers in this field of development theory. Elsewhere in the world, equally competent analysts are proceeding on similar bases. The importance of these viewpoints in current thinking about National Planning and Development would be difficult to exaggerate.

In my paper, I have developed these ideas in relation to the Indian situation, but I attempted to avoid an over-emphasis on these factors because it would prevent an adequate presentation of a comprehensive statement of the matter.

National development is a larger entity than economic growth. It calls for education beyond meeting the strategic requirements

in manpower. This is particularly true in India, whose problems of development both in their nature and their magnitude, far transcend the area covered by the two viewpoints mentioned above.

India must educate for national unity, a most difficult responsibility when linguistic varieties and sectional rivalries are taken into account. There is obviously a danger that the states or the language groups will attract the highest loyalties among the common people. To fail to secure this unity is to fail the whole enterprise of national development, but success in this endeavour is by no means certain. After all, India has not been a subcontinental unit in a number of centuries. Can the unity of Akbar's time be restored, or—as is necessary today—be improved upon?

After all, India has not been fully unified in its long pre-independence history except under the British during the approximately 150 years prior to their withdrawal in 1947. Can the post-independence unity of India be perpetuated? While the outlook for this is favourable, it is by no means a certainty.

India is committed to both universal education and to the growing benefits of the welfare state. To reconcile welfare with the consumer sacrifices inexorably demanded for the accumulation of development capital is a well-nigh impossible task. Also, to bring about universal primary education while producing the additional educational facilities and programmes essential for development calls for massive resources, which are demanded also by other sectors of the developing nation. To fail to produce such educational facilities and programmes would endanger the success of the five-year plans. But to divert the requisite capital for such educational expansion will likewise jeopardize the growth rates demanded by other essential sectors of the five-year plans.

Indian education, notwithstanding its strength at the time of independence and its notable growth since that time, remains largely traditional and overly oriented toward a different situation from that which prevails in India and in the world today. Much of it is sub-standard, derivative, and anachronistic. Apart from a small number of excellent universities whose quality compares favourably with other great universities

elsewhere in the world, many of the Indian universities and their constituent colleges lag behind the times in their programmes, are characterized by generally poor instruction, too much conformity to routines of yesteryears, too little recognition of the demands presented by the new era, too little imagination and creativity in teaching and programme reform, too much unconcern about student growth and alertness, and too many professors and students engaged in obsolete or redundant academic studies.

There has been too much student indiscipline and reckless trouble-making. A number of Vice-Chancellors spoke to me of their concern about this situation when I visited their institutions. Such reading as I have been able to do in Indian newspapers since my return to the USA indicates that the problem of indiscipline had not abated up until a year ago. It may be much improved now. However, I suspect that full-time professional agitators still reside on the campuses of Indian universities today as in the past few years, posing as regular students but actually making a career as agitators and *agents provocateurs.*

I will omit several other considerations of importance. But there are at least two of which I should speak: (1) the avoidance of "thought control, ideological manipulation, and psychological totalism". (2) The gradual education of the village folk, keeping the tempo of educational progress in this area consistent with steps in national development.

I will content myself by merely mentioning the first of these matters in the paragraph above. It would require too much space and time to proceed further with this topic here. But a few comments about the village situation are essential.

Despite the frequent use of this somewhat hackneyed term in connection with village India, there does not appear to be a strong "revolution of rising expectations" in this sector of the nation's life. The village is changing, of course. Some villages and some sections are changing faster than others. There is more human growth and economic development in some villages than in others, but villages are being modified more by external influences than by self directed changes.

By and large, the villages are not greatly stirred from their

historic lethargy and age-old ways of life and work. They remain more nearly traditional societies than transitional societies. They respond slowly to the work of educators and community development workers. They appear to know very little about the world at large or about their own country. The long tradition and the deeply grooved patterns of life which have guided the villagers from time beyond human memory, are still ascendant and powerful.

A major requirement for understanding the village situation is that the analysis and planners shall have great powers of empathy. Too few of the outside and upperclass people can put themselves in the villager's position, can understand his day-to-day life and can see sympathetically and clearly the pictures which are in his mind. There is evidence also that the villager himself lacks the necessary apperceptive sophistication for interpreting what is said to him by development workers or by government personnel generally. He lives in an illiterate and pre-scientific stage of life. For example, how does a villager think of a germ? What does inoculation mean to him? How does he see the rationale of environmental sanitation?

The villager does not assess his life, work, and responsibilities in terms of the value system of the educated and Westernized man of contemporary elite groups in Indian society. He has his own *weltanschauung*. Good fortune or bad fortune, good crops or poor crops, sickness or health, famine, flood, insect infestation, hardship and occasional ease of family circumstances—all of these have an elaborate justification in his mind as a part of an accepted and unquestioned system of rewards and punishments, ruled over by a great and confused population of good and evil spirits. The villager prefers his own explanation of events to that of the educated man who has a rationale of these happenings based upon a set of values, ideas, systems, and procedures altogether alien to the unschooled and tradition dominated villager.

How does education reach this villager? What sort of education does he need first? At what pace of development and village-people-involvement shall the process proceed?

A number of writers have pointed out that the traditionalism of the villager serves as a safety and unity factor in the time of

Indian development. For the villager to have his expectations prematurely aroused, for him to make impossible demands upon his government, for him to turn against and overthrow his present government because of disenchantment with its necessarily slow pace of development would surely mean the end of the democratic system in India and would probably mean a sad tragedy for its people who would eventually have to be brought to order and tranquillity by dictatorial methods, ruthlessly applied.

The greatest test of the loyalty of the village population to India will come when development, with its concomitant changes in village tradition, mores, and folkways has progressed far enough to detach the villager from his old ways and make him impatient to have the new level of living he has been led to expect. Village stability can survive hardship better than it can endure a prosperity big enough to enlarge popular demands but at the same time being too small to satisfy these demands as speedily as the villager desires.

Changes cannot come to the village as single units. A stable and satisfactory traditionalism is likely to remain the continuing way of life for a long time to come. However, the traditional system of values, institutions, and practices cannot indefinitely survive the growing effects of the continuous introduction of modern ideas and practices.

I have written you in too much detail about the nature of the paper I had in mind. My ideas are crudely stated in this letter. In some respects they are overly critical, as, for example, my remarks about the universities and about the problems of student indiscipline. The whole essay would have taken more balanced and judicious form than might be inferred from these hasty comments about the materials to be included.

As you will see, I have already done a considerable amount of work on the essay. Much more will be required. But my idea now is to include the essay in a brief study I am writing of the Rural Higher Institutes with which I was closely associated for a number of years, the role which provided me with the opportunity of making the acquaintance of Professor Saiyidain.

The booklet I have in mind will cover six chapters, of which chapters 2, 3, 4, and 6 are complete, and with chapter 5 substantially written. The chapter on education as a factor in

development would be modified from its above shape and emphasis for use as chapter 1, displacing the first chapter already written, which would become chapter 2. Chapter 5 deals with the psychological, group and economic aspects of working with villagers.

When you see Professor Saiyidain, please give him my deep apologies for not completing the essay in time for inclusion in the volume in his honour. Also, convey to him my affection and my admiration, both of which are strong and deep.

I appreciate your asking me to participate in this enterprise. I am more than sorry to have missed the date for submission of the essay.

In looking over the list of sponsors, several of whom are my personal friends, I know you have a very strong and well-informed group of writers. The volume promises to be a fine one. I look forward to reading it......

With high regard and all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,
Louis Smith.

هر چه از دوست میرسد نیکو است

خدا کی رضا پر راضی ھی نہیں شاکر رھنا کوئی میرے بھائی جان سے سیکھے - ان کی قوت برداشت اور صبر کے امتحان ہوتے میں نے بچپن سے دیکھے تھے - لیکن سال گزشتہ وطن سے ھزاروں میل دور پردیس میں اپنی محبوب رفیق حیات کی بیماری اور جدائی کے روح فرسا سانحہ کو انھوں نے جس طرح جھیلا اس نے مجھے بھی حیرت میں ڈال دیا - جو لوگ سیدین صاحب سے بہت قریب ھیں صرف وہ جانتے ھیں کہ ان کی اور عزیز کی محبت عشق کے اس اونچے مقام پر پہنچ چکی تھی جہاں عشق مجازی میں عشق حقیقی کی جھلک نظر آنے لگتی ھے - ان کے چاھنے والوں کی جان پر بنی ہوئی تھی کہ اس غم کے پہاڑ کا بوجھ ان کا دل کیسے اٹھا سکے گا - لیکن یہ ان کی ایمانی قوت کا معجزہ تھا جس نے اس وقت ان کو سنبھالا - ان کی سیرت کا حسن جس طرح نکھر کر اس حادثہ کے وقت سامنے آیا وہ اور کسی طرح بھی نہ آ سکتا تھا - جس سانحہ نے ان کی زندگی کی مسرتیں ان کا سب سے پیارا دوست، ساتھی اور محبوب چھین لیا، ان کا دل خون کر دیا، وہ بھی ان کے ایمان، صبر اور عزم کو نہ ھلا سکا - ھمیشہ کی طرح اس وقت بھی انھوں نے غم جاناں کو غم دوراں میں ڈبو دیا - اپنے کو کام میں کھپا کر، قوم اور انسانیت کی خدمت میں مٹا کر اپنے درد کا مداوا کر لیا - آج بھی وہ اس عزیز یاد کو سینے سے لگائے اپنے کاموں میں لگے ہوئے ھیں - آج بھی وہ اپنے وسیع خاندان کے سرپرست مشیر اور دوست ھیں - اب ان کی مسکراھٹ میں وہ شگفتگی اور بے ساختگی نہیں رھی - چہرے پر غم کی چھاپ ھے - آنکھوں میں درد کی لہریں ھیں مگر اپنے پیاروں کی خاطر آج بھی وہ اُسی طرح ھنستے بولتے سب کے دکھ سکھ خوشی میں شریک ہوتے، سب پر محبت و خلوص کی برکھا کرتے ھیں -

خدا انھیں اپنے حفظ و اماں میں رکھے اور ان کا سایہ اھل خاندان کے سروں پر قائم رھے -

ان سے دشمنی بھی باندھی ہے - مخالفت بھی کی ہے - انہیں برا بھلا بھی کہا ہے - مگر ادھر یہ حال کہ الٹی مخالف کی حمایت کی جائے گی اور ان لوگوں کو ملامت جو "خواہ مخواہ" کسی شخص سے "بدگمانی" کرتے ہیں - ان کی یہ واحد کمزوری ہے کہ وہ آدمی کو ذرا کم پہچانتے ہیں یعنی انہیں لوگوں میں خوبیاں ہی خوبیاں دکھائی دیتی ہیں - کہیں برائی نظر بھی آئے تو وہ چپ چاپ اس کی اصلاح کی کوشش کریں گے - کامیاب نہ ہوے تو چشم پوشی سے کام لیں گے - مگر اپنے مخالف کو خود کبھی برے الفاظ سے یاد کرنا تو ایک طرف دوسروں کو بھی کچھ نہ کہنے دیں گے - اگر مخالف کھل کر سامنے ہی آ جائے اور کوئی جھوٹی بات کہے یا چھوٹی بات کرے تو انہیں سخت دھچکہ لگتا ہے مگر کیا مجال کہ انکا سلوک اس سے بدل جائے - اب بھی وہ اس کی اصلی یا فرضی خوبیوں کو سراہتے ہی ملیں گے -

اپنی ذاتی اور گھریلو زندگی میں بھی وہ سچے معلم ہیں - لوگوں کی کمزوریوں کو نظر انداز کرنے اور صلاحیتوں کو ابھارنے میں ان کو کمال حاصل ہے اور وہ اکثر اصلاح و تربیت کی اس کوشش میں کامیاب ہوتے ہیں - جہاں پوری کامیابی حاصل نہ ہو وہاں بھی ایک حد تک ان کا معصوم دل یہ فرض کر لیتا ہے کہ اس شخص میں وہ خوبیاں جو وہ پیدا کرنا چاہتے تھے پیدا ہو گئیں -

ان میں میں نے پہلے بھی کہا ہے کہ، صبر و برداشت کی غیر معمولی قوت ہے - دل اتنا نرم اور درد مند کہ چیونٹی کی تکلیف پر بھی دکھ جائے - دشمن کے دکھ پر بھی آنکھیں نم ناک ہو جائیں - اور برداشت کا یہ عالم کہ مصائب کا پہاڑ بھی ٹوٹ پڑے تو لب پر آہ' زبان پر شکوہ اور استقلال میں بال برابر فرق نہیں آتا - آنکھوں سے اشکوں کے دریا بہہ جائیں مگر ذرا سی سسکی کوئی نہیں سن سکتا - کیسے کیسے پیاروں' کیسے کیسے دوستوں کے صدمے انہوں نے اٹھائے مگر ہر غم کو اس انداز میں جھیلا کہ صبر جمیل کی مجسم تصویر لوگوں کو دکھا دی - قرآن پاک میں مومن کی تعریف میں بار بار آیا ہے کہ وہ مصیبت میں صبر اور نماز کا سہارا ڈھونڈتا ہے - اس صفت ایمانی کا جلوہ یا میں نے اپنی ماں کی ذات میں دیکھا تھا یا ان کے بیٹے میں - مایوسی کے گھور اندھیرے میں بھی امید کی شمع ان کے ہاتھ سے نہیں چھوٹتی - زہر غم کا پیالہ لبریز ہو جائے تو ان کے یقین و ایمان کا میعار کچھ اور بلند ہو جاتا ہے - وہ ہر حادثہ کو سر جھکا کر اس انداز سے قبول کر لیتے ہیں کہ :

بیماری ہو سیدین کے ماتھے پر شکن کسی نے نہیں دیکھی - ان کے منہ سے شکوہ کسی نے نہیں سنا -

اب سے دور ۱۹۵۰ء میں انہیں دل کا دورہ پڑا تو تیماردار ہی نہیں بڑے بڑے ڈاکٹر بھی حیران رہ گئے کہ اس دبلے پتلے کمزور انسان میں کس بلا کی قوت برداشت ہے! حالت یہ کہ ڈاکٹروں نے اٹھنے بیٹھنے کا کیا ذکر ہے ہلنے جلنے اور بولنے تک پر پابندی لگا رکھی تھی - عیادت کے لئے آنے والوں کو صرف دور سے دیکھنے کی اجازت تھی - ہم لوگوں کے دل ان کی یہ کیفیت دیکھ کر دکھتے اور چپکے سے آنکھوں کے گوشوں سے چند موتی لڑھک جاتے مگر وہ مسکرا کر (وہ دلکش مسکراہٹ جو ان کی شخصیت کا ایک جز بن چکی ہے!) سب کی ہمت بندھاتے - جو قریب آتا اس سے پیار بھرے دو چار لفظ کہتے یا اس کا ہاتھ پکڑ کر دباتے - ذرا سنبھلے تو کاغذ پر پنسل سے لکھ کر باتیں شروع کر دیں جن میں اپنی تکلیف یا بیماری کا رونا نہیں دوسروں کے دکھ درد کا حال پوچھا جا رہا ہے - سب کی ہمت بندھائی جا رہی ہے - دوستوں اور عزیزوں اور بچوں کے مناسب حال مشہور شاعروں کے شعر لکھے جا رہے ہیں -

ڈاکٹروں اور نرسوں کو کم ہی ان کا سا مریض ملتا ہوگا جو اپنی بیماری کا دکھڑا رونے کی جگہ ان کی صحت و آرام کا خیال رکھے' ان کو لطیفے اور چٹکلے سنا کر ہنسائے - اور تیمارداروں کے آرام اور عزیزوں کی دلداری کا تو جیسا وہ خیال رکھتے ہیں کون رکھے گا' زبان سے اُف نہیں کرتے - چہرہ پر تکلیف کی پرچھائیں نہیں پڑنے دیتے کہ ان کے چاہنے والے پریشان نہ ہوں -

جانے یہ انکی ہنستی پیشانی کا حسن ہے یا دلچسپ گفتگو کا سحر' محبت کا جادو ہے یا اس دردمندی کا تاثر جس سے ان کا دل مالامال ہے کہ وہ خاندان کی سب سے محبوب ہستی بن گئے ہیں - اور کتنا بڑا ہے ان کا یہ خاندان - اس میں ان کے قریبی اور دور کے عزیز ہیں - سسرالی عزیز اور ددھیالے والے ہیں اور نسبتی عزیزوں کے عزیز اور دوست ہیں - بیٹیوں کی سہیلیاں' ملازم اور ان کے کنبے سبھی تو شامل ہیں - اس وسیع خاندان کا ہر فرد دل و جان سے انہیں چاہتا ہے - وہ چاہت جس میں خلوص ہوتا ہے' تحسین ہوتی ہے' عقیدت ہوتی ہے اور احساس فخر کہ ایسی پیاری ہستی کی محبت و قربت کی نعمت ہمیں حاصل ہے -

لیکن اگر میں یہ کہوں کہ انکا کبھی کوئی مخالف یا دشمن نہ تھا تو مبالغہ ہوگا - بعض لوگوں نے (اگرچہ انکی گنتی بہت کم ہے)

لوگوں کی دلداری کا ایک نیا ذریعہ دریافت کیا۔ "ٹیپ" کا زمانہ تھا۔ ٹیپ پر وہ اپنی آواز ریکارڈ کر کے بھیجتے (جانتے ہیں کہ ان کی جدائی میں ان کے پیاروں پر کیا بیت جاتی ہے) جس میں ایک ایک کو نام بنام الگ الگ مخاطب کر کے باتیں کرتے، لطیفے اور قصے سناتے، حال احوال پوچھتے۔ ایسا لگتا کہ سامنے بیٹھے باتیں کر رہے ہیں۔ بچوں کو کہانیاں سناتے، سوال پوچھتے۔ خوشی سے بچوں کا کیا عالم ہوتا تھا یہ دیکھنے سے تعلق رکھتا تھا۔ اس ننھے نواسے کو جو ان کے پیچھے عالم وجود میں آیا کتنا پر اثر اور پیارا پیام ٹیپ کر کے بھیجا کہ سننے والے آب دیدہ ہو گئے۔ یہ اصرار کہ یہاں سے بھی سب کی آوازیں ٹیپ کرا کے بھیجی جائیں خاص کر بچوں کی باتیں۔ اس ننھے منے کی غوں غاں تک جس کو اس وقت تک دیکھا بھی نہ تھا، ان کے دل کو سرور بخشتی تھی۔

ان کی ہمدردی اور مزاج کی نرمی کا پورا اندازہ کسی بیمار کے سرہانے ہوتا ہے۔ کتنے عزیزوں اور پیاروں کی کیسی کیسی سخت بیماریاں انہوں نے نہیں دیکھیں مگر بیمار کی انتہائی ضد اور چڑچڑے پن کی حالت میں بھی ان کے لہجے میں تلخی، ماتھے پر ناگواری کی شکن، چہرے پر تھکن یا الجھن کی پرچھائیں نظر نہیں آتی۔ وہ کتنے ہی سخت پریشان ہوں بیمار سے ایسے ہنس ہنس کر بات کریں گے، اس کی بیماری کا مذاق اڑائیں گے، اس کو قصے لطیفے اور شعر سنائیں گے کہ اس کی آدھی بیماری غائب ہو جائے اور آدھی کو وہ کم سے کم ذرا دیر کے لئے بھول جائے۔ مریض کے کمرے میں ان کا آنا کسی مسیحا نفس کے آنے سے کم نہیں ہوتا۔

ان کی ایک بہن ایک بار سخت بیمار ہوئی۔ موت اور زیست کی کش مکش ایک عرصے تک جاری رہی۔ اس سے بڑی بہن چند سال پہلے داغ جدائی دے چکی تھی اس لئے چھوٹی کی جان کی فکر کچھ اور زیادہ ہو گئی تھی۔ اس کی بیماری میں اُن پر جو مالی، جسمانی، ذہنی بار پڑا اور اُسے انہوں نے جس شوق سے اٹھایا اس کا ذکر نہیں، صرف یہ بتانا ہے کہ انہی کی دل جوئی نے مایوس بیمار کے دل میں زندہ رہنے کا حوصلہ اور بیماری سے لڑنے کی قوت پیدا کی۔ ان کا عقیدہ ہے کہ کبھی دکھ اور مصیبت سے ہار مان کر اسے سر پر سوار نہ ہونے دو بلکہ پیروں تلے کچل کر رکھو۔ اور یہ صرف دیگراں را نصیحت کا معاملہ نہیں بلکہ وہ خود بیماری میں انتہائی برداشت اور خوش مزاجی سے کام لیتے ہیں۔ کتنی ہی سخت اور تکلیف دہ

محبت انہوں نے بیوی سے پائی وہ ایسی ہی صاف شفاف اور اس سے بھی زیادہ پر جوش اور سر گرم تھی -

بچوں سے پیار سیدین صاحب کی خاندانی خصوصیت ہے اور خاص کر لڑکیوں کو اس گھرانے کے بزرگ اور بھی زیادہ چاہتے ہیں - محبت کے پتلے سیدین کو بھی بچوں سے بے انتہا پیار ہے چاہے وہ اپنے ہوں یا دوسروں کے - وہ بچوں کی نفسیات کو سمجھتے ہیں' ان کی دلچسپیوں کو جانتے ہیں اور بات کی بات میں ان کو پرچا لیتے ہیں - تبھی تو بچے ان پر یوں گرتے ہیں جیسے شمع پر پروانے - خود اپنے بچوں سے انہیں جو محبت رہی ہے اس میں ایک طرف ماں کی محبت کی نرمی' گداز اور دلسوزی ہے تو دوسری طرف باپ کی ادب آموزی بھی ہے - وہ تعلیم' تربیت اور تنبیہ سے کبھی غافل نہیں رہے - جن اخلاقی قدروں کے وہ خود پرستار ہیں وہی اپنے بچوں میں بھی دیکھنا چاہتے ہیں - ایک واقعہ میں کبھی نہ بھولوں گی - برسوں پہلے کا ذکر ہے - بچیاں چھوٹی چھوٹی سی تھیں - ایک بچی نے غصے میں آ کر ایک ملازم کے ٹھوکر مار دی - انہیں اس کا علم ہوا- رنج و غصے سے لرز اٹھے اور زندگی میں پہلی اور آخری بار انہوں نے کسی بچے پر ہاتھ اٹھایا - بھابی جان پریشان' بچیاں حیران' میں دم بخود - ہم نے آج تک کبھی ان کو اس عالم میں نہ دیکھا تھا - باپ نے بیٹی کو مارا تو ضرور' کہ ایسا جرم وہ کبھی معاف نہیں کر سکتے تھے' مگر دل پر کیا بیت گئی ؟ تھوڑی دیر بعد بھابی جان نے مجھے اشارے سے بلا کر اندر کے کمرے میں جانے کو کہا - دیکھتی کیا ہوں کہ سیدین صاحب کے دونوں زانوں پر دونوں بچیاں بیٹھی ہیں جن کی باہیں باپ کی گردن میں ہیں اور تینوں باپ بیٹیوں کی آنکھوں سے ٹپ ٹپ آنسو گر رہے ہیں -

دنیا کا دستور ہے کہ جوں جوں بچے بڑے ہوتے جاتے ہیں ماں باپ خصوصاً باپ کی محبت کم ہوتی جاتی ہے - مگر یہاں معاملہ الٹا ہے - جیسے جیسے لڑکیاں بڑھیں باپ کی محبت میں اور زیادہ شدت اور گہرائی پیدا ہوتی گئی - آج وہ لڑکیاں ان کی پیاری بیٹیاں ہی نہیں عزیز دوست اور ذہنی رفیق بھی ہیں -

محبت کی یہی برکھا اب نواسی نواسوں پر ہے - ان کے یہ پانچوں ننھے بچے ''پاپا'' قریب ہوں یا دور' ہر وقت ان کا کلمہ پڑھتے ہیں - اور کیا کیا باتیں سوجھتی ہیں سیدین صاحب کو اپنے عزیزوں اور پیاروں کی دلداری کے لئے - دور ہوں تو خط اور تار' تحفے اور پیام آتے رہتے ہیں - اب کی بار جب سال بھر کے لئے ہوائی گئے تو ہم

یہ ہندوستانی تہذیب کی خصوصیت ہے - لیکن بھائی کو اپنی بہنوں سے کتنی گہری محبت ہو سکتی ہے اس کا نمونہ کوئی میرے بھائی جان میں دیکھے - ان کی محبت میں مامتا کا رس، باپ کی شفقت، معلم کی رہنمائی، نقاد کی نکتہ چینی، دوست کی دلسوزی اور بھائی کا پیار گھل مل کر وہ امرت بن گیا ہے جو دل و دماغ، قلب و روح سبھی کو سیراب کر دیتا ہے - بہنوں میں وہ منجھلی بہن سیدہ خاتون کو جو صورت و سیرت دونوں میں ان سے بہت مشابہ تھیں، سب سے زیادہ چاہتے تھے - وہ ان کی ذہنی رفیق، پیاری دوست اور جاں نثار بہن تھیں - ایک تو ان کی اپنی صفات کیا کم تھیں اور پھر بھائی کی تربیت سونے پر سہاگا ہو گئی - نوجوانی ہی میں ان کی حسن سیرت، قابلیت اور ذہانت کا سکہ سارے خاندان پر بیٹھ گیا تھا -

ایسی چاہنے والی ماں کی رحلت کے تھوڑے ہی دن بعد ایسی چہیتی بہن کی جدائی! ان پے در پے حادثوں نے دل و دماغ کی چولیں ہلا دی تھیں - لیکن سیدین صاحب نے کس طرح ان صدموں کو سہارا، کیسے بڑی بہن اور چھوٹے بھائی بہن کے زخموں پر مرہم رکھا، کیوں کر نیم جانوں کو جینے کا حوصلہ بندھایا، یہ ہم ہی جانتے ہیں - اس صبر و تحمل کا جو انہوں نے ماں سے ورثہ میں پایا ہے - یہ پہلا نقش میرے دل پر تھا -

عشق و محبت کی بڑی بڑی داستانیں پڑھی ہیں لیکن جیسی محبت سیدین صاحب کو اپنی بیوی سے تھی اس کی مثال 'کم سے کم میں نے' نہ حقیقی زندگی میں دیکھی اور نہ شعر و ادب میں - عزیز جہاں بیگم کی سی خوش نصیب عورت دنیا میں کم ہوئی ہوگی جسے دلی عزت، گہرے اعتماد، اتھاہ محبت اور سچی دوستی کا اتنا بڑا خزانہ ملا ہو - جس سلیقے سے بھائی جان ان کی صفات کو سراہتے، جس خوبصورتی سے ان کی صلاحیتوں کو ابھارتے، جس فراخ دلی سے ان کی کمزوریوں سے چشم پوشی کرتے، جس دلسوزی سے ان کی تکلیف و پریشانی میں شریک ہوتے، جس شوق سے ان کی ہر خوشی اور خواہش پوری کرتے، جس نرمی سے اپنی بات ان سے منواتے، کیا کوئی اور مرد کر سکتا ہے ؟ میں نہیں جانتی - مجھے حسرت ہی رہی کہ کبھی ان کو کڑے لہجے میں بات کرتے، اونچی آواز میں بولتے سنوں، اپنی من مانی کرتے دیکھوں کہ انہیں فرشتوں کی صف سے نکال کر کے نوع بشر کے زمرے میں شامل کر سکوں، مگر ان کی ملکوتی محبت کے آئینے پر کبھی میل نہیں آیا - اور اس کے بدلے میں جو

کا وافر حصہ عورتوں اور بچوں نے پایا ہے ۔ عورت کی جتنی قدر و عزت وہ کرتے ہیں میں نے کسی اور مرد کو کرتے نہیں دیکھا ۔ ہاں ان کے پرنانا مولانا حالی کے کلام میں اس کا جلوہ ضرور نظر آیا ہے ۔ ویسے سیدین صاحب بڑے ظریف اور بذلہ سنج ہیں، فقرے کسنے میں کسی سے بھی نہیں چوکتے مگر ہنسی مذاق میں بھی آج تک میں نے ان کے منہ سے کوئی ایسا فقرہ یا لفظ نہیں سنا جس سے عورت کی صنف کی سبکی کا پہلو نکلتا ہو ۔ عورت—جو ماں ہے، بہن ہے، بیٹی ہے، دوست ہے، رفیق حیات ہے—ہر روپ میں وہ ان کے دل میں محبت اور عزت کے سب سے اونچے سنگھاسن پر نظر آتی ہے ۔ اور یہ ایک پرتو ہے اس انتہاء عقیدت و محبت کا جو انہیں اپنی ماں سے تھی ۔ ہر ماں بیٹے کو چاہتی ہے ۔ مگر میری ماں اپنے سب بچوں، خاص کر اس بیٹے کو کتنا چاہتی تھیں، میرا قلم اس کو بیان کرنے سے عاجز ہے ۔ جب بیٹا بی ۔ اے کرنے کے بعد اعلیٰ تعلیم کے لئے انگلستان سدھارا تو بیمار و کمزور ماں کے دل پر قیامت گزر گئی ۔ مگر بیٹے کی فلاح و بہبود کی خاطر اس نے جدائی کی کڑی ساعتیں خندہ پیشانی سے جھیلیں ۔ اس دو سال کے طویل عرصے میں ان کی زندگی کا سہارا فقط سیدین صاحب کے خط تھے ۔ وہ اپنی مصروفیتوں اور دلچسپیوں کے باوجود نہایت پابندی سے ہر ہفتے خط لکھتے تھے (اور جن لوگوں سے سیدین صاحب کی بے تکلف خط و کتابت رہی ہے وہ جانتے ہیں کہ ان کے خط ان کی شخصیت کی طرح اپنے اندر کتنی دلکشی اور دلربائی رکھتے ہیں) دیدار کی پیاسی ماں کے لئے یہ خط آب حیات کا کام دیتے تھے ۔

سیدین صاحب کے انگلستان سے واپس آنے کے بعد والدہ، جن کی صحت پہلے ہی جواب دے چکی تھی چند ہی سال زندہ رہیں ۔ اس عرصے میں انہوں نے بیماری کے بڑے دکھ اٹھائے ۔ لیکن بیٹے نے جس سعادت مندی، خوش مزاجی اور سچی لگن سے ان کی خدمت کی، جس طرح ان کی ہر خوشی کو اپنی خوشی سمجھا اس نے انہیں روحانی راحت و مسرت بخشی اور ان کی زندگی کی آخری گھڑیوں کو مجموعی طور پر خوش گوار بنا دیا ۔ ٹھیٹھ مشرقی تہذیب کی گود میں پلی ماں اور اعلیٰ مغربی تعلیم یافتہ بیٹے کی رائے اور پسند ہی میں نہیں بلکہ اخلاقی معیاروں اور اصولوں میں وہ ہم آہنگی تھی جو بہت ہی کم دیکھنے میں آتی ہے ۔ اس کی وجہ سے گھر کی فضا کتنی دلکش اور سہانی ہو گئی تھی ۔

بہنوں کو بھائی بہت پیارا ہوتا ہے ۔ جان سے بھی زیادہ پیارا ۔

(۵) بھائی جان اپنے گھر میں

صالحہ عابد حسین

گوئٹے نے کہا ہے "میں نے اپنے والد سے یہ تیل قول پایا اور زندگی کو کڑے اصولوں کے مطابق بسر کرنا سیکھا - اور اپنی پیاری امی سے دل شادماں پایا اور کہانی کہنے کا سلیقہ"

یوں تو ہر بچے کو والدین کی کچھ نہ کچھ خصلتیں وراثت میں ملتی ہیں لیکن ایسے بھاگوان بہت کم ہوتے ہیں جو ماں باپ کی ساری خوبیوں سے مالا مال ہوں - سیدین صاحب ان چند خوش نصیب لوگوں میں سے ہیں جنہیں قدرت نے ذاتی صفات کے ساتھ ساتھ اضافی اوصاف کا بھرا ہوا خزانہ بھی عطا فرمایا ہے - ان کے والد خواجہ غلام الثقلین نے (جو میری خوش نصیبی سے میرے باپ بھی تھے) چالیس سال کی مختصر مدت حیات ہی میں ساری قوم پر اپنی قابلیت، ذہانت، قومی ہمدردی اور قوت عمل کا سکہ بٹھا دیا تھا - اور والدہ نے سارے خاندان کے دلوں کو اپنی خدا پرستی، بے نفسی، خدمت و ایثار، شفقت و محبت سے موہ لیا تھا - جو صاحبان علم و بصیرت ہیں وہ پرکھ سکتے ہیں کہ سیدین صاحب کو باپ کی وجاہت ذہانت، کام کی لگن، محنت کی عادت اور عمل کی قوت ورثہ میں ملی ہے اور ماں سے مزاج کی نرمی، محبت کی گرمی، خیالات کی پاکیزگی، درد دل کی دولت اور ایمان و یقین کی نعمت -

انسان کی سیرت کو پرکھنے کے لئے سچی کسوٹی اس کی گھریلو زندگی ہے جہاں ظاہرداری کا ملمع اتر جاتا ہے اور سیرت کے اصلی خدوخال نظر آنے لگتے ہیں - میں سیدین صاحب کی تصویر کے اس رخ کو پیش کرنا چاہتی ہوں - میں جانتی ہوں کہ بہن کی رائے بھائی کے بارے میں ذرا مشکل ہی سے سند مانی جاتی ہے - مگر میں کوشش کرونگی کہ محبت و عقیدت کے جذبات کو الگ رکھ کر سچی اور بے لاگ بات کہوں -

سیدین صاحب کے خلق و محبت کو صاف اور میٹھے پانی کے ایک چشمہ سے تشبیہ دی جا سکتی ہے جس سے ہر پیاسا سیراب ہو سکتا ہے - یوں تو اس چشمۂ فیض سے عزیز، دوست، ماتحت، افسر، پڑوسی، ملازم، اپنا بیگانہ کوئی بھی محروم نہیں رہا لیکن اس دولت

میرا جی چاہتا ہے کہ ایک روز میں بھی ان کو ہندوستانی کھانا کھلا سکوں لیکن کیسے کروں - مجھے تو ڈھب نہیں ہے -

کہنے لگیں "کیا بڑی بات ہے - لاؤ میں پکا دوں"

کوئی پندرہ مہمان تھے - بڑی ہی دلچسپ صحبت رہی - ہر شخص انگلیاں چاٹتا ہوا گیا - ان امریکنوں نے نواب کلب علی خاں کے نسخہ سے پکا ہوا کھانا کب کھایا تھا - بھابی بیگم نے کھانا بھی پکایا اور میزبانی کے فرائض بھی اس حسن و خوبی سے ادا کیئے کہ خود شائستگی کو رشک آنے لگا -

اس کے بعد وہ غریب بیمار ہو گئیں - دماغ کا کینسر تھا - لیکن زندگی میں تشخیص ہی نہیں ہو سکی - حافظہ خراب ہو گیا تھا اور نیند بہت بڑھ گئی تھی - بالآخر وہ اسی طرح قبر میں جا سوئیں - اس پورے زمانے میں سیدین صاحب کا صبر دیکھنے کے قابل تھا - باوجود دیدہ تر کی بے خوابیوں اور دل کی پوشیدہ بےتابیوں کے' وہ میری اور سیدہ کی ہمت ہی بندھاتے رہے اور اپنی گفتگو سے خیر و برکت کو عام کرتے رہے :

در عشق غنچہ ایم کہ لرزد ز باد صبح
در کار زندگی صفت سنگ خارا ایم

خدا کی رضا جوئی اور اس کے بندوں کے ساتھ شفقت - روز مرہ کی زندگی میں وہ نرمی پیدا کر دیتی ہے جو دلوں کو موہ لے اور غیروں کو مسخر کرلے - سیدین صاحب کی ذات میں یہ شریفانہ قدریں اس طرح رچ گئی ہیں کہ انہیں ان کی ذات سے الگ نہیں کیا جا سکتا -

سیدین صاحب کی کتاب "آندھی میں چراغ" پڑھتا ہوں تو بار بار ان کی تصویر سامنے آ جاتی ہے - شخصیتوں کے "انتخاب" نے ان کے "دل کا معاملہ" بھی کھول دیا ہے اور دوسروں کا ذکر کرنے میں خود ان کے خط و خال بھی واضح ہو گئے ہیں -

ریاضی کی زبان میں—ان کی کتاب کو جسم و جاں میں منتقل کیجئے تو سیدین صاحب' اور سیدین صاحب کو الفاظ و عبارت میں تحویل کیجئے تو یہ مضامین - بلا شبہ ان کی ذات ان تمام شریفانہ قدروں کی محرم اور محافظ ہے جن کی انہوں نے اس کتاب میں اتنی پر زور تائید کی ہے - اور یہی ان کی عظمت کی دلیل ہے :

آوازۂ خلیل ز بنیاد کعبہ نیست
مشہور گشت زاں کہ بآتش نکو نشست

چھوٹی سی بات ہے لیکن میرے نزدیک بہت بڑی ہے اور مجھے بار بار یاد آتی ہے - ۱۹۵۷ میں میں لندن تھا - وہاں اطلاع ملی کہ میری بڑی بہن کا ناگہانی انتقال ہو گیا بچھراؤں میں - جہاں بروقت طبی امداد بھی میسر نہ آسکی - ان کی موجودگی میں میں ماں کے غم کو بھول گیا تھا - اب ایسا معلوم ہوا کہ دو موتیں ایک ساتھ ہوئیں - کیا بتاؤں نباشد مہرش از جانم فراموش - تیس برس تہجد پڑھ کر انہوں نے میرے لئے دعائیں مانگی تھیں، اب وہ دعا کا دروازہ ہمیشہ کے لئے بند ہو گیا - لیکن انگلستان برق و بخارات کی سر زمین ہے وہاں بھائی بہن کے رشتوں کو کوئی پہچاننے والا نہیں - میں اس پردیس میں بس کلیجہ پکڑ کے رہ گیا - سیدین صاحب کو نہ معلوم کیسے اس واقعہ کی خبر ہو گئی - انہوں نے مجھے ایک خط لکھا - دوسرا لکھا - تیسرا لکھا - ان کا یہ جملہ مجھے ہمیشہ یاد رہے گا - "(اب سے ۲۸ برس پہلے) میری بہن کا بھی اسی طرح اچانک انتقال ہو گیا تھا مجھے پردیس میں آپ کے غم کا اندازہ ہے" وہ بعض صوفیوں کی طرح دوسروں کی تکلیف کو اسی شدت سے محسوس کرتے ہیں جیسے اپنی - اسی وجہ سے ان کی شخصیت اتنی پرسوز، اتنی دل نواز، اتنی سحر آفریں ہے -

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سیدین صاحب کو میں نے خوشی کی حالت میں بھی دیکھا ہے اور رنج کی حالت میں بھی، کبھی بھی انہوں نے اعتدال اور توازن کو ہاتھ سے نہیں چھوڑا - میں ۱۹۶۱ء میں امریکہ گیا - وس کان سن یونی ورسٹی میں وزیٹنگ پروفیسر کی حیثیت سے - وہاں وہ بھی مہمان پروفیسر اور دیدہ ور ماہر تعلیم کی حیثیت سے تشریف لائے - دونوں کا قیام ایک ہی شہر میں - ایک ہی یونی ورسٹی میں - مجھے کونین کی دولت مل گئی - ان کی بیگم صاحبہ بھی ساتھ تھیں - ان کا دل نواز سلیقہ، ان کا خدمت کا مہر انگیز جذبہ، ان کا ہمدردانہ خلوص، ان کی دل آویز شائستگی، ان کی دل جویانہ خاطر مدارات کن لفظوں میں بیان کروں - شروع شروع میں جب ان کا گھر نہیں جما تھا بیگم سیدین باہر جا کر انگریزی کھانا کھاتی تھیں جو انہیں پسند خاطر نہیں تھا - مجھے اس کا اندازہ ہوا اور جی چاہا کہ ان کی ہندوستانی کھانے کی دعوت کروں - لیکن کس طرح کروں - میں نے تو کبھی زندگی میں چمچا بھی نہیں چلایا تھا - ان کے پاس گیا اور کہا بھابی بیگم، ان امریکی پروفیسروں کے میرے اوپر اتنے احسانات ہیں کہ آنکھ نہیں ملتی - ہر ہفتہ دعوت کر دیتے ہیں -

بدل گئے اور خود جیلانی صاحب اور خان بہادر صاحب نے بر سر محفل کہا کہ مشاعرہ میں مضائقہ نہیں -

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اس کے بعد ملک آزاد ہو گیا اور تقسیم سے جو نقصانات ہوے اس سے کم و بیش ہر شخص متاثر ہوا - سیدین صاحب کا گھر پانی پت میں لٹا - میرا دھلی میں - "اوروں کا زر لٹا مرا نقد سخن لٹا" سیدین صاحب دھلی آ گئے اور وزارت تعلیم سے منسلک ہو گئے - ان کے نفس کی شرافت اور فکر کی دیانت کا وھی عالم تھا جو اب سے چودہ پندرہ برس پہلے - بلکہ اب وہ پہلے سے زیادہ محسوس کرتے تھے کہ جب تنگ نظری پھیلی ہوئی ہو تو اس میں ذھنی قائد کی ذمہ‌داریاں اور بڑھ جاتی ھیں -

مشیر تعلیم کی حیثیت سے ان کا سابقہ ابتدائی' ثانوی اور اعلیٰ تعلیم کے سب ھی شعبوں سے رھا - سب ھی پر اُن کا نقش ھے - سب ھی ان کے چراغ کا پرتو ھیں - ان کاموں میں ان کی تعریفیں بھی ھوئیں اور مخالفتیں بھی - لکن وہ ان سب چیزوں کو دریائے بےتابی کی ایک موج خون سمجھ کر برداشت کرتے رھے اور نہ کبھی ان تعریفوں پر فخر محسوس کیا اور نہ ان مخالفتوں پر رنجیدہ ھوئے - مجھے ۲۸ برس سے ان کی خدمت میں نیاز حاصل ھے لیکن آج تک میں نے ان کی زبان سے کسی کی برائی نہیں سنی - وہ ھر حال میں اعلیٰ قدروں کا اثبات ھی کرتے رھے -

مخالفتوں میں اپنے توازن کو قائم رکھنا' دامن کو آلودگی سے بچانا اور نگاہ کی بلندی اور سخن کی دل نوازی کو برقرار رکھنا اُسی وقت ممکن ھے جب سیدھی راہ پر چلا جائے - اور وہ بھی الف لیلہ کے قصہ کی طرح - کہ ادھر اُدھر دیکھا اور آدمی پتھر کا ھوا - اُن کا راستہ متعین ھے - سچ' دیانت' صبر' ایمان اور آزادیء ضمیر کا راستہ - اسی لئے شرافت اور معنی لفظ آدمیت کی اگر کوئی رمزی علامت دیکھنا ھے تو وہ سیدین صاحب کی ذات گرامی ھے -

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سیدین صاحب قدر اول کے معلم ھیں - اور کوئی شخص اچھا معلم نہیں ھو سکتا جب تک وہ اعلیٰ درجہ کا انسان نہ ھو - ان کی شخصیت میں مشرق کی قدریں اور مغرب کی نئی آگاھیاں اس حسن تناسب کے ساتھ سموئی گئی ھیں کہ کرشمہ دامن دل می کشد کہ جا اینجا ست - اُن میں جو دل سوزی اور درد مندی ھے اس نے ان کی نور آگیں شخصیت کو اور بھی دل آسا بنا دیا ھے - ایک

کا انتقال ہو گیا اور مسلم بورڈنگ ہاؤس کے وارڈن جیلانی صاحب کو بڑی سخت ناگواری ہوئی کہ شہنشاہ عالم و عالمیان کا انتقال ہو جائے اور ایسوسی ایشن کے ممبران رنگ رلیاں منائیں' میرا انہوں نے ناطقہ بند کر دیا۔ میں بورڈنگ میں رہتا تھا۔ جب بھی ان کے سامنے سے گزرتا اور راستہ وہی تھا' وہ برابر یہی تاکید کرتے کہ ان جلسوں کو بند کر دو۔ مسلم ہوسٹل کے سیکرٹری خان بہادر صاحب کو بڑی ناگواری ہوئی۔ بورڈنگ میں تالا پڑجائے گا۔ مسلمان بدنام ہو جائیں گے۔

میں بڑی کش مکش میں تھا۔ پشاور۔ لاہور۔ علی گڑھ۔ حیدرآباد سب ہی جگہ سے طلبہ آ رہے تھے۔ سیدین صاحب نے اقرار کر لیا تھا۔ شعرا نے شرکت کی حامی بھر لی تھی۔ سب سامان مکمل ہو چکے تھے۔ ایسوسی ایشن کی مجلس عاملہ کا فیصلہ تھا کہ جلسے ہوں لیکن جب جیلانی صاحب کی ناگواری حد سے بڑھی تو میں کرنل ٹی ایف اوڈانل کے پاس گیا جو کالج کے پرنسپل تھے اور باوجود وائسرائے کے اے۔ ڈی۔ سی ہونے کے ہماری تحریک آزادی سے بڑی ہمدردی رکھتے تھے۔ ان سے مشورہ کیا' انہوں نے کہا جب ایڈورڈ ہفتم کا انتقال ہوا ہے۔ آکسفورڈ اور کیمبرج کے علمی مشاغل اسی طرح جاری رہے' آپ کا بھی علمی جلسہ ہے میرے خیال میں تو کچھ حرج نہیں ضرور کیجئے۔

جیلانی صاحب کے پاس ایک؛ حربہ اور تھا۔ وہ خان بہادر بھیا بشیر الدین صاحب کے پاس پہنچے۔ وہ میرے محسن تھے اور ان ہی کے اسکالر شپ پر میری زیست تھی۔ میری پیشی ہوئی۔ صدر صاحب کی طلبی ہوئی۔ وہ بیچارے کمزور آدمی تھے فوراً پچک گئے اور فیصلہ یہ ہوا کہ مشاعرہ جس میں نشاط کا پہلو زیادہ ہے وہ ملتوی کر دیا جائے لیکن مباحثہ ہو سکتا ہے اس میں مضائقہ نہیں۔

اس بحثا بحثی میں اتنی دیر ہو گئی کہ جب ریلوے اسٹیشن سیدین صاحب کو لینے گیا ہوں تو ٹرین آ چکی تھی اور وہ اپنے میزبان اور عزیز سید مستحسن زیدی بیرسٹر کے گھر جا چکے تھے۔

میں سیدین صاحب کی قیام گاہ پر پہنچا تو میری آنکھیں نم ناک تھیں۔ انہوں نے میرے آنسو پونچھے اور مجھے تسلی دی۔ ان کے دل کا گداز' ان کی روح کی بلندی' ان کے دل کی گرمی' ان کی دل آسا شفقت میں بھول نہیں سکتا۔ انہوں نے مجھے یقین دلایا کہ آپ کا مشاعرہ بھی ہوگا اور مباحثہ بھی۔ بالکل تردد نہ کیجئے۔

اس روز مباحثہ کے شروع میں سدین صاحب نے مجمع کو اتنی شہرت دلائی اور ایسی بلیغ اور موثر تقریر فرمائی کہ مخالفوں کے دل

(۴) خودگرو خودشکن و خودنگر

نعرہ زد عشق کہ خونیں جگرے پیدا شد
حسن لرزید کہ صاحب نظرے پیدا شد
فطرت آشفت کہ از خاک جہاں مجبور
خود گرے' خود شکنے' خود نگرے پیدا شد

اقبال

میں نے جس ماحول میں آنکھ کھولی وہاں جب کبھی غیر معمولی قابلیت اور خاندانی شرافت کا ذکر کیا جاتا تو سیدین صاحب کی مثال دی جاتی - میرے ایک عزیز علی گڑھ میں ان کے ہم عمر تھے' وہ بیان کرتے تھے کہ سیدین صاحب اسکول کے سب سے کم عمر طالب علم تھے - قامت میں کمتر لیکن قیمت میں برتر - تقریر کرنے کے لئے کھڑے ہوئے تو مجمع ان کی سحر بیانی سے اتنا متاثر ہوا کہ ان کو دیکھنے کے لئے بے اختیار کھڑا ہو گیا - صدر نے مجمع کے اشتیاق سے مجبور ہو کر ان کو میز پر کھڑا کر دیا اور وہ آدہ گھنٹہ تک بڑی روانی اور شگفتہ بیانی سے تقریر کرتے رہے - اس روز سب کو یقین ہو گیا کہ ان کا صدف جس گوہر کو اپنے اندر تیار کر رہا ہے بہت جلد اس کی تابانی سے اندھیرے میں اجالا ہو جائے گا -

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میری اُن سے سب سے پہلی ملاقات ۳۶-۱۹۳۵ء میں ہوئی - میں میرٹھ کالج کی لٹریری ایسوسی ایشن کا سکرٹری تھا - اُس وقت کام کرنے کا عجب ولولہ تھا' بڑے بڑے ارمان تھے - یہ نہ معلوم اِتراھٹ تھی یا بڑھی ہوئی خودی یا یہ جذبہ کہ ان بڑوں کی چھوٹ ہم پر بھی پڑ جائے' یزداں بکمند آور سے کم' طبیعت کسی چیز پر راضی ہی نہ ہوتی تھی - یہ طے کیا کہ ایک آل انڈیا مباحثہ ہو جس میں تمام ھندوستان کے طلبا شریک ہوں - اور پرنسپل خواجہ غلام السیدین صدارت کریں - عنوان تھا : "وطینت انسانی ترقی کے راستے میں حائل ہے" - اگلے روز مشاعرہ ہو جس میں فانی' ثاقب اور جگر سب ہی مشاهیر شعرا شریک ہوں -

مجھ تک اول تو دور جام آتا ہی نہیں اگر آتا ہے تو اس میں ایک زہر کی بوند بھی ملا دی جاتی ہے - اسی زمانہ میں جارج پلنجم

سکتی جب تک کہ جدید ہندوستان کے تعلیمی نظام میں ادب کے مطالعہ کو اس کا مناسب مقام نہیں دیا جائے گا - ادب کی تعلیم اس وقت اس کے تاریخی اور تہذیبی پس منظر سے الگ کر کے دی جا رہی ہے' ادبی تاریخیں تذکرے ہیں جن میں تاریخ کا کوئی شعور کارفرما نہیں ہوتا' ادبی تنقید اشعار کے مطالب اور شعراء کے متعلق معمولی واقفیت تک محدود ہے - جب تک ادب کی تعلیم قومی اور انسانی اقدار کی روشنی میں نہیں دی جائے گی' جب تک اس کی مدد سے ہر دور میں انسان کے بدلتے ہوئے کردار کو سمجھنے کی کوشش نہیں ہوگی' اور جب تک ادب کا مطالعہ دوسرے مددگار علوم کے ساتھ نہیں کیا جائے گا' اُس وقت تک اس کی صحیح اہمیت کا احساس نہیں ہو سکے گا -

یہ ہمارے نظام تعلیم کا ایک بنیادی مسئلہ ہے جس کی طرف فوری توجہ کی ضرورت ہے کیونکہ اس کا تعلق قومی یک جہتی' جذباتی ہم آہنگی' تاریخی شعور' ذوق جمال کی تربیت اور فطرت انسانی کے اندر کی انفرادی' سماجی اور حیاتیاتی کشمکش سے ہے اور یہ ہمارے قومی کردار کی تعمیر کے بنیادی مسائل ہیں -

کے اکثر پہلوؤں کا احاطہ کر لیتا تھا - یہی ادب کی عظمت اور گہرائی کا سب سے بڑا ثبوت ہے -

ادب کا مطالعہ کسی حیثیت سے کیا جائے اس کی کامیابی کی پہلی اور آخری شرط یہ ہے کہ فن کے جمالیاتی لوازم کے ساتھ ساتھ اس میں گہرا، دیر پا، اثر انگیز، فکری یا جذباتی مواد بھی پایا جاتا ہے جہاں فن اور موضوع دونوں ادیب کی گرفت میں ہوتے ہیں، جہاں ادبی اور فکری قدریں ایک دوسرے میں پیوست ہو جاتی ہیں اور ادب ارتقائے فکر کی تاریخ میں اعلیٰ مقام حاصل کر لیتا ہے - صدیوں سے ادب اس طرح مسرت جوئی اور تخلیق اقدار کا جزو بنتا رہا ہے اور صدیوں سے ادیب اپنی اس قوت سے انسانی مسرت اور علم میں اضافہ کر رہے ہیں - آج اس سائنس کے دور میں بھی ان کے سامنے یہی نصب العین ہے حالانکہ علوم میں اضافہ کے ساتھ ساتھ جذباتی عمل اور رد عمل کی دنیا بھی بدل گئی ہے - جب ہم سائنس کے مہلک، خوفناک، انسان دشمن قوتوں کا تصور کرتے ہیں تو ہمیں اپنی ذات نہایت حقیر، کمزور اور مجبور نظر آتی ہے اور جب ہم اُس کے تعمیری، ارتقائی اور افادی پہلوؤں پر نظر کرتے ہیں تو وہ ہماری دوست، مددگار اور شریک کار معلوم ہوتی ہے - ایک ہی چیز کے متعلق ہمارے یہ دہرے رد عمل، سماجی فکر کے مختلف طریقوں کا نتیجہ ہیں - اگر ہم اسے نہ سمجھیں تو اپنی جذباتی زندگی کے متعلق بھی ہمارا رویہ متعین نہیں ہو سکے گا اور یہی محسوس ہوگا کہ ہماری جذباتی زندگی ہیچ اور بے حقیقت ہے - اس خیال نے کچھ لوگوں کو اس منزل پر پہونچا دیا ہے کہ انہیں ادب کبھی بیکاری کا مشغلہ نظر آتا ہے کبھی محض اپنے ڈھکے چھپے اعصابی رد عمل کا اظہار - دونوں حالتوں میں وہ یہ بھول جاتے ہیں کہ ادب نے انسانی ذہن کی تعمیر میں کتنا حصہ لیا ہے - اگر یہ بات اُن کی سمجھ میں آ جائے تو پھر یہ سمجھنا مشکل نہیں رہ جاتا کہ آج بھی ہماری انفرادی اور سماجی یا جذباتی اور ذہنی تعمیر میں ادب کی تعلیم کس طرح مفید ہو سکتی ہے -

تاریخ، ادب اور تہذیب کے متعلق ان چند خیالات کے پیش کرنے کا مقصد یہ ہے کہ ادب کی تاریخی اور سماجی اہمیت کے خلاف جو خالص جمالیاتی یا سائنسی مفہوم میں افادی رد عمل ہے اُس سے وابستہ بعض غلط فہمیوں کا ازالہ کیا جائے - ادب کی تہذیبی اہمیت نہ تو فنی اقدار کے خلاف ہوتی ہے اور نہ سائنسی حقائق کے - لیکن ان خیالات کی باقاعدہ تشکیل اور اشاعت اس وقت تک نہیں ہو

انسانی کا ادبی سرمایہ بھی ہیں، تہذیبی اور علمی دستاویز بھی - تاریخ قدیم کے مورخوں نے ان سے اس لئے کام لیا ہے کہ اپنی ابدیت کے باوجود وہ تاریخی حقائق کا سرچشمہ بھی ہیں اور ان کا مطالعہ بھی مخصوص قوموں اور زمانوں میں انسانی رشتوں کی مستند تصویر پیش کرتا ہے -

اس حقیقت کو ایک اور طرح سے ذہن نشین کیا جا سکتا ہے - ما قبل تاریخ سے اس وقت تک ہر سماج میں فنون لطیفہ اور خاص کر ادب کی بقا اس بات کا ثبوت ہے کہ یہ ہر دور میں اظہار حقائق کا ایک یقینی ذریعہ بنے رہے ہیں - ان میں تبدیلیاں ہوتی رہی ہیں، اظہار کے اسلوب بدلتے رہے ہیں، معنوی پیکر نئے سانچوں میں ڈھلتے رہے ہیں، زندگی میں ان کے مدارج تبدیل ہوتے رہے ہیں، ان کی تفریحی اور تعلیمی اہمیت گھٹتی بڑھتی رہی ہے لیکن تسلسل کسی نہ کسی شکل میں برقرار رہا ہے - یہی وجہ ہے کہ تہذیب انسانی کے بعض پہلو فنون لطیفہ یا ادب ہی کے پیمانے سے ناپے جاتے رہے ہیں کیونکہ شعر و ادب ہی کے ذریعہ سے سماجی عمل کا ایک حصہ قدروں میں تبدیل ہوتا رہا ہے یہاں تک کہ بعض حالات میں ادب انسانی ارتقا کا اندازہ لگانے کے لئے تاریخ، عمرانیات اور فلسفہ سے زیادہ کارآمد اور موثر ذریعہ ثابت ہوا ہے - انفرادی طور سے ادب خود اپنے نظام جذبات کے سمجھنے اور انہیں منظم کرنے میں مدد دیتا ہے اور ادیب کی شخصیت کو وسیع کر کے انسانی اور آفاقی شخصیت میں تبدیل کرتا ہے - ہندوستان کی تاریخ میں مغل سلطنت کا زوال، انگریزی حکومت کا استحکام، ۱۸۵۷ء کی بغاوت، قومی شعور کی نشو و نما، بظاہر غیر ادبی سماجی محرکات ہیں لیکن ان کو پیش نظر رکھے بغیر سر سید، حالی، آزاد، نذیر احمد، شبلی اور اقبال وغیرہ کے ادبی کارناموں کی پرکھ ناممکن ہوگی -

یہ چند ایسے حقائق کی جانب اشارے ہیں جنہیں محض یہ کہہ کر نظر انداز نہیں کیا جا سکتا کہ کچھ ادیب سیاست، سماجی مسائل، افکار کا تذکرہ کر کے ادیب سے اس کی انفرادیت اور ادب سے اس کی آفاقیت چھین لینا چاہتے ہیں یا زندگی اور ادب کے تعلق کا ذکر کر کے ادیب کی آزادی رائے پر پہرے اور شعر و ادب کے قدموں میں زنجیریں ڈالنے کے لئے کوشاں ہیں کیونکہ عہد قدیم کے اعلیٰ ادب میں کوئی افادی یا سیاسی تحریک شعوری طور پر کام نہیں کر رہی تھی - اس وقت بھی ادب زندگی کے مجموعی شعور کا نتیجہ تھا اور زندگی

کی غیر معمولی قوت تخلیق کا اضطراری نتیجہ قرار پاتا ہے ۔ یہ محض اتفاق ہے کہ کچھ لوگ اس میں سماجی اور تہذیبی حقائق کی جھلک دیکھ لیتے ہیں ۔ ان کے نقطۂ نظر سے بھی ادب تاریخی تصور تہذیب کا جزو نہیں بن سکتا ۔ ایک انتہا پسند گروہ وہ بھی ہے جو شعر و ادب کو صرف لاشعور کی جنبش زیر نقاب سمجھتا ہے ۔ اس کی نظر میں ادب بے ربط محسوسات اور نا معلوم اندھے محرکات کا نتیجہ ہے اور ادیب غیر شعوری قوتوں کا آلۂ کار ۔ ظاہر ہے کہ اس گروہ کے لوگ بھی ادب کے تاریخی کردار کو پیش نظر نہیں رکھتے تو کیا اس لحاظ سے یہ تسلیم کر لیا جائے کہ ادب کی کوئی تہذیبی اور علمی اہمیت نہیں ہے ۔

جیسا کہ کہا گیا اس میں شک نہیں کہ اعلیٰ ادب کا بڑا حصہ اعلیٰ انفرادی ذہن کی تخلیق ہوتا ہے لیکن اگر یہ انفرادی قوت تخلیق اجتماعی شعور کا جزو نہ بنے تو ادب اپنے اصل مقصد یعنی ابلاغ اور ترسیل سے محروم رہے گا ۔ کوئی ادبی کارنامہ ادنیٰ ہے یا اعلیٰ اس کا علم اس وقت تک نہیں ہو سکتا جب تک کہ ادیب اور قاری کے درمیان جذباتی یا ذہنی رد عمل کا کوئی رشتہ قائم نہ ہو ۔ جنہوں نے اعلیٰ ادب کا مطالعہ کیا ہے وہ جانتے ہیں کہ ادب کی انفرادیت کو مجروح کئے بغیر یہ رشتہ قائم ہو جاتا ہے اور اسی کو سماجی اظہار سے تعبیر کر سکتے ہیں ۔ اس وقت تک ادب کا مطالعہ یہی بتاتا ہے کہ جتنا اعلیٰ ادب ہوتا ہے اتنی ہی اُس کی سماجی، تہذیبی اور آفاقی اہمیت ہوتی ہے (اور یہ باتیں اُس کی جمالیاتی اور فنی اہمیت کے منافی نہیں ہیں) اس پر ادیب کی انفرادیت کا نقش بھی اتنا ہی گہرا ہوتا ہے ۔ تنقیدی مطالعہ کے لئے اس کی مختلف حیثیتوں سے الگ الگ بحث کی جا سکتی ہے لیکن اس کی عظمت ان سب کی مجموعی وحدت میں پوشیدہ ہے ۔ عالمی ادب میں شاید ہی کوئی مصنف ایسا ہو جس کی عظمت کا راز اس کے کارناموں کی تہذیبی اور آفاقی معنویت میں پوشیدہ نہ ہو ۔ یہ تہذیبی اور آفاقی معنویت انفرادی اظہار ہونے کے باوجود اجتماعی ہوتی ہے ۔ یہ حقیقت اس بات سے اور بھی واضح ہو جاتی ہے کہ قدیم ترین اعلیٰ ادب، ادب ہی نہیں تاریخ بھی ہوتا ہے فلسفہ اور سیاسیات بھی، جغرافیائی اور اقتصادی معلومات کا ذخیرہ بھی ہوتا ہے اور مذہب و عقائد کا ترجمان بھی ۔ وید، مہابھارت، رامائن، توریت، ایلیڈ اور اُڈیسی، ملفوظات کو نگ فوزی، اوستا، عہد نامۂ جدید، یونانی ڈرامے، کالی داس کے ناٹک، فردوسی کا شاہنامہ اور اس طرح کی بہت سی تخلیقات عالم

جہاں تک تخلیقی ادب کا تعلق ہے وہ بیشتر فن کی پابندیوں کے ساتھ ادیب کے انفرادی جذبات اور تصورات کو پیش کرتا ہے اور یہ ظاہر فرد کی داخلی کیفیات کی ترجمانی کرتا ہے لیکن اُسے زمان و مکان سے ماوراء نہیں قرار دیا جا سکتا - دوسرے لفظوں میں ادب ایک دوسری سطح پر اُن تاریخی حقائق کو پیش کرتا ہے جو واقعات کے ظاہری اظہار میں نہیں سموئے جا سکے بلکہ تہذیب کی قدریں بن کر تخیُلی کرداروں اور فرضی داستانوں' تشبیہوں اور استعاروں' تمثیلوں اور علامتوں میں قید ہو گئے - اگر اعلیٰ ادب کے اندر سے انسانیت کی روح جھانکتی ہوئی دکھائی نہ دے تو یہ سمجھنا چاہئے کہ ادیب نے زندگی کا مطالعہ سطحی طور پر کیا تھا -

جب یہ کہا جاتا ہے کہ ادب زندگی کا عکس ہے یا اُس کی ایک نئی تخلیق' تو کچھ لوگ افلاطون اور ارسطو کے ''نظریۂ نقل'' کے سطحی مفہوم کو سامنے رکھ کر یہ ظاہر کرنے لگتے ہیں کہ محض نقالی کسی طرح اعلیٰ ادبی تخلیق نہیں بن سکتی - ایسے لوگ سرے سے تخلیقی ادب کا کوئی تصور ہی نہیں رکھتے کیونکہ جب یہ کہا جاتا ہے کہ ادب زندگی کا آئینہ ہے تو اس کا مطلب یہ ہوتا ہے کہ ادیب کا شعور حقائق کو اپنی گرفت میں لانے اور اپنی تخلیقی قوت سے انہیں مرتب اور منظم شکل میں پیش کرنے کی صلاحیت رکھتا ہے - ادب کا یہ تصور نہ تو فرد کی انفرادیت کو نظر انداز کرتا ہے اور نہ اس کے تاریخی شعور کو - یہی نہیں بلکہ اس سے کسی ایسی انسانی قدر کی نفی بھی نہیں ہوتی جو علم و حکمت کے مختلف ذرائع سے وجود میں آ چکی ہے اور انسان جسے ایک تہذیبی قدر سمجھ کر عزیز رکھتا ہے -

آج ادیبوں کا ایک طبقہ سائنس اور ٹکنالوجی سے مرعوب ہو کر یہ محسوس کرنے لگا ہے کہ اِنسانی مفاد اور ارتقا صرف انہیں سے وابستہ ہے - جو تہذیب ان کے سایہ میں پروان چڑھے گی اسے نہ تو شعر و ادب کی ضرورت ہوگی اور نہ شعر و ادب اس کی معنویت اور افادیت میں اضافہ کر سکیں گے - یہ طبقہ تہذیبی ارتقا کا ایک مخصوص نقطہ نظر رکھتا ہے - دوسرے سرے پر ایک ایسا گروہ بھی ہے جو ادب کو شخصیت کے غیر معتدل اور غیر معمولی پہلوؤں اور حیرت میں ڈال دینے والے انوکھے جذبات اور محسوسات کے اظہار تک محدود رکھنا چاہتا ہے اور اس طرح وہ ادب کی سماجی اور تاریخی اہمیت کا منکر ہو جاتا ہے کیونکہ اس کے نقطۂ نظر سے ادب' تہذیب' سماجی تفکر اور اجتماعی علم کا اظہار نہیں کرتا محض ایک غیر معمولی فرد

اور ہر علاقہ، ہر قوم اور ہر اہم گروہ کے ظاہری اور باطنی رشتوں کی پیچیدگیوں کو نگاہ میں رکھا جائے تا کہ تغیر اور ارتقا میں حصہ لینے والا کوئی عنصر نظر انداز نہ ہونے پائے - اس کی کوشش اکثر بڑے بڑے مورخوں اور علم تاریخ کے فلسفیوں نے کی ہے لیکن واقعات کے رشتوں کی تعبیر میں ابن خلدون، وائی کو ہیگل، مارکس، ڈینان، کروچے اور ٹوائن بی سب اپنے اپنے نظریات کے اتنے پابند ہو جاتے ہیں کہ بعض ایک دوسرے کی ضد نظر آنے لگتے ہیں - اس کے باوجود تاریخ ہی ہمارے شعور کی تربیت کرتی ہے اور قوموں کے کردار اور عمل کی امتیازی خصوصیات کا علم دے کر ہمیں اپنی راہ معین کرنے میں مدد دیتی ہے - اس سے منہ موڑ کر کسی ملک کے قومی مزاج اور اس کے بین الاقوامی رشتوں کو سمجھنا آسان نہیں رہے گا - اس لئے نہ صرف قومی تہذیب کے پیچ و خم سے واقفیت حاصل کرنے کے لئے بلکہ مستقبل میں ایک متوازن تہذیبی نقطۂ نظر اختیار کرنے کے لئے کسی نہ کسی شکل میں تاریخ کی تعلیم کو لازمی اور ضروری قرار دینا چاہئے بشرطیکہ تاریخ دیانتداری سے لکھی گئی ہو اور ارتقائے انسانی کے اکثر پہلوؤں اور اُن کے باہمی رابطوں پر روشنی ڈالتی ہو -

اِس میں شک نہیں کہ نفسیات کے بعض علماء تاریخ کی اہمیت کو تسلیم نہیں کرتے، شائد اس کا سبب یہ ہو کہ عام نفسیات فرد کو اپنا مرکز توجہ قرار دیتی ہے اور تاریخ جماعت اور قوم کو سامنے رکھتی ہے لیکن سماجی نفسیات نے تاریخ اور تہذیب کی اندرونی رفتار سے بحث کر کے یہ واضح کر دیا ہے کہ نہ صرف جماعتی بلکہ انفرادی نفسیات پر بھی تاریخ کے خارجی محرکات غیر معمولی اثر ڈالتے اور انہیں نئے سانچوں میں ڈھالتے ہیں - فلسفیانہ قطعیت اور صوفیانہ دروں بینی کے شیدائی تاریخی ارتقائے نفس کو نظر انداز کرتے ہیں لیکن وہ بھی اس بات سے انکار نہیں کر سکتے کہ علم جذبات پر اثر ڈالتا ہے اور محرکات کی شدت اور ہلکے پن کو گھٹاتا بڑھاتا ہے - اس کا اندازہ ہمیں علوم و فنون کی تاریخ کے مطالعہ کے بغیر نہیں ہو سکتا -

تاریخ کا مطالعہ اپنے وسیع ترین مفہوم میں تہذیبی ارتقا، فنون لطیفہ اور فلسفیانہ افکار کا مطالعہ بھی بن جاتا ہے - کبھی کبھی ایسا ہوا ہے کہ مورخین نے انسان کے باطنی یا روحانی ارتقا کے سمجھنے کے لئے فنون لطیفہ ہی سے مدد لی ہے کیونکہ وہاں اِنسان کی تخلیقی قوت خارجی اور داخلی حدوں کو توڑ کر اُن کیفیات کی تصویر بناتی ہے جن میں بیک وقت عصری اور ابدی زندگی جھلکنے لگتی ہے -

فطرت کے متعلق کبھی انسان کا رد عمل عقلی اور مادی ہوتا ہے کبھی مابعد الطبیعاتی اور متصوفانہ۔ اس انسان کو انسان یا سماج کے رشتے میں سمجھنا اور فطرت کے کائناتی نظام میں اُس کا مقام متعین کرنا بہت مشکل ہو جاتا ہے، یہی نہیں خود فرد کے اندر جنس اور اخلاقی احتساب، احساس کمتری و برتری، اِرتفاع اور ذہنی الجھنوں کی کشمکش، شخصیت کے خط و خال پہچاننے میں دشواریاں پیدا کرتی ہے - علم و حکمت کی روز افزوں ترقی کے باوجود ابھی تک نہ تو فرد کی اندرونی دنیا کے حدود یقینی طور پر معلوم ہوئے ہیں اور نہ سماج کی مختلف شکلوں کے متعلق قطعی اور یقینی علم حاصل ہو سکا ہے - پھر بھی یہ ایک حقیقت ہے کہ مختلف سماجی اور سائنسی علوم انسان کی راہ میں چراغ جلاتے جا رہے ہیں - تاریخ، نفسیات، سماجیات، سائنس اور فلسفہ نے بہت سی گتھیاں سلجھائیں اور بہت سے عقدے کھولے ہیں اور ادبیات نے انسان کی اِنفرادی اور اجتماعی روح تک پہنچنے میں مدد دی ہے - دشواری اس وقت پیدا ہوتی ہے جب علم ناقص ہوتا ہے یا کسی بہت ہی محدود نقطۂ نظر سے حقائق کا جائزہ لینے کی کوشش کی جاتی ہے - ایسی صورت میں نتائج گمراہ کن، ادھورے اور غلط ہو جاتے ہیں اور وہ چاہے تاریخ ہو یا ادب کسی کا مطالعہ تشفی بخش نہیں ہوتا۔

'تہذیبوں کے عروج و زوال کی تاریخ' ممکن ہے عمومی طور سے بعض منازل ارتقا یا بنیادی اَدوار کے سانچے میں ڈھالی جا سکے لیکن حقیقت یہ ہے کہ اس سلسلہ میں کسی طرح کی قطعیت پر یقین کر کے تہذیبی ارتقا کے میکانکی اصول بنا لینا نہ صرف تاریخی اعتبار سے غلط ہوگا بلکہ غلط نتائج تک پہنچا دے گا - فلسفۂ تاریخ کے بعض علماء اور صاحب بصیرت مورخین بھی اپنے نقطۂ نظر، قومی افتخار کے احساس اور بعد کے معلوم نتائج سے مرتب کئے ہوئے اسباب کی روشنی میں تاریخی واقعات کو اس طرح ترتیب دے لیتے ہیں اور ہر واقعہ کی توجیہ اس طرح کرتے ہیں کہ حالات کے بہاؤ پر اُن کا انداز نظر حاوی ہو جاتا ہے اور ایسا معلوم ہونے لگتا ہے کہ گویا واقعات ایک بنے بنائے نظریہ کے مطابق وقوع پذیر ہوئے حالانکہ بعض اوقات صرف چھوٹے چھوٹے حادثات اور اتفاقات ہی نہیں بڑے بڑے حقائق بھی پوری طرح کسی مخصوص نظریے کی کھینچ تان کی تاب نہیں لا سکتے - اس کا یہ مقصد نہیں کہ اسباب و علل، اثرات اور نتائج کے ان رشتوں سے انکار کیا جائے یا ارتقائے تہذیب میں کچھ اساسی اصولوں کی تلاش کو بالکل عبث قرار دیا جائے بلکہ کہنا یہ ہے کہ ہر ملک

(۳) تاریخ، تہذیب اور ادب

احتشام حسین

عام طور پر انسان کی زندگی میں کشمکش کے تین رقبے یا دائرے ہوتے ہیں جو ابتدائے شعور ہی سے مختلف قسم کے خارجی اور داخلی تصادمات سے پھیلتے اور سکڑتے رہتے ہیں، اور جب شخصیت پختہ اور منضبط ہونے کی منزل میں پہنچتی ہے اُس وقت وہ ایک چوتھے دائرے میں داخل ہو جاتی ہے جہاں پہلے دائروں کی خصوصیات مخصوص تناسبات سے یکجا ہو جاتی ہیں۔ ان تین یا چار دائروں کو مختصراً یوں واضح کیا جا سکتا ہے۔ پہلا محدود انفرادی دائرہ جس میں وہ خود اپنی ذات اور کیفیت کو سمجھنے کی کوشش کرتا ہے۔ دوسرا وہ جس میں اس کا تعلق اپنے ابنائے جنس سے قائم ہوتا ہے اور انسان کی شعوری سماجی حیثیت متعین ہوتی ہے۔ تیسرا وہ جس میں انسان عناصر فطرت پر قابو حاصل کرنے کی جد و جہد کرتا ہے۔ انہیں مختلف دائروں کی کشمکش سینکڑوں شکلیں اختیار کرتی ہے اور زندگی میں انفرادی یا سماجی پیچیدگیاں پیدا کر کے انہیں حل کرنے پر اکساتی ہے۔ اس سے وہ علوم جنم لیتے ہیں جنہیں نفسیات، تاریخ، معاشیات، عمرانیات اور فلسفہ کے علاوہ سائنس کے مختلف شعبوں میں تقسیم کیا جاتا ہے۔ ان علوم سے کام لے کر انسان اپنی ذات کا شعور حاصل کرتا ہے اور وہ رشتے استوار کرتا ہے جو فرد، سماج اور فطرت کو ایک کڑی میں منسلک کر دیتے ہیں اور شخصیت ایک ایسا لباس پہن لیتی ہے جو اُسے دوسروں سے ممتاز کرتا ہے۔ اس کی انفرادی کاوشیں اور اظہار کی خواہشیں شعر و ادب بنتی ہیں اور اجتماعی عمل سے تاریخ اور تہذیب کا دامن بھرتا ہے۔

بادی النظر میں یہ رشتے سیدھے سادے ہیں لیکن نفسیات، سماجیات اور سائنس کے مطالعہ کے بعد ہر فرد ایک منتشر خیال معلوم ہونے لگتا ہے اور ہر سماجی گروہ متصادم اِنفرادی عزائم کا مجموعہ دکھائی دیتا ہے۔ فرد اپنی جگہ پر ایک وحدت ہے اور کئی دوسری مفروضہ وحدتوں کا ایک ننھا سا جزو بھی، جماعت کبھی مذہب اور عقیدہ کی بنیاد پر مستحکم ہوتی ہے، کبھی لسانی اشتراک کی وجہ سے، کبھی قومی وحدت کی بنیاد پر کبھی تہذیبی۔ اِسی طرح

ص۱۳ سطر ۳۳ یہاں ایک بات قابل ذکر ہے - بہت مدت ہوئی، مولانا امتیاز علی خان عرشی مدظلہ نے میری درخواست پر یہ مثنوی نگار لکھنؤ (مئی ۱۹۴۱) میں شائع کروائی تھی - اس پر بھی ایک زمانہ گزر گیا اور وہ قصہ پارینہ ہو گیا -

ص۱۶ سطر ۳ در اصل : نیاید

ص۱۶ سطر ۱۰ در اصل : کہنہ

ص۱۷ سطر ۴ اصل میں 'دار' سہو کاتب سے لکھا نہیں گیا -

ص۱۷ سطر ۲۶ در اصل : ناخواندہ گاں

ص۱۷ سطر ۳۳ در اصل : یاب

ص۱۸ سطر ۷ در اصل : برخ

ص۱۹ سطر ۳۲ در اصل : بدر دری

سرکش اور حرص و ہوا کا شکار ہے، میں اس کی بے رھروی سے بچ کر تیری پناہ میں آنا چاھتا ھوں (۴۰ - ۴۹)

اے خدا! میرے گزشتہ گناھوں سے در گزر فرما - تو نیک اور بد، ھر ایک کی آخری امید گاہ ہے، مجھے بھی اپنے دروازے سے ناکام نہ واپس جانے دے - میری صبحیں دین و دنیا کی خوبیوں کی حامل اور شامیں دشمنوں اور دوسری مضرات کے مقابلے میں میری سپر ثابت ھوں - بہر حال میں راضی برضا ھوں (۵۰ - ۸۹) - تو مالک کل اور قادر مطلق ہے (۹۰ - ۱۱۶) - اے خدا! میرے دشمنوں کو برباد کر دے اور مجھ پر رحمت فرما (۱۱۷-۱۲۴) -

دعا سر تا سر قرآنی اسلوب بیان کے مطابق ہے، بلکہ اصل عربی میں بہت حد تک قرآنی آیات استعمال ھوئی ھیں - صدر اسلام میں دعائیں بالعموم اسی طرح اپنے عجز کے اظہار اور گناھوں سے بچنے کی خواهش پر مشتمل ھوا کرتی تھیں اور یہی پیرایہ اس دعا کا بھی ہے

غالب نے جہاں ترجمے میں اضافہ کیا ہے، وہ ان کی اپنی نفسیاتی کیفیت کا آئینہ دار ہے - مثلاً شعر ۶۴ سے ۷۳ تک انہوں نے دس شعروں کا اضافہ کیا ہے - یہاں انہوں نے درخواست کی ہے کہ یا اللہ! تیرے خزانے همیشہ پر ھیں، ان کا دروازہ کسی پر بند نہیں، پھر میں کیوں تیرے کرم سے محروم ھوں؟ دوسری جگہ (۷۶—۸۱) انہوں نے اپنے راضی برضا ھونے کی تاکید کی ہے - دیکھا جائے، تو یہی دو مقام ھیں، جہاں وہ اپنی ناداری اور مفلسی کا برملا اظہار کر کے اپنی بے بسی کا رونا رو سکتے تھے، اور یہی انہوں نے کیا -

انہوں نے مثنوی "ابر گہر بار" میں بھی اسی طرح کی مناجات کہی ہے - فرق صرف اتنا ہے کہ یہاں وہ ترجمے کی پابندی کے باعث اپنے بیان کو زیادہ وسعت نہیں دے سکے - اس کے برعکس چونکہ "ابر گہر بار" میں کوئی ایسی مشکل ان کے سد راہ نہیں تھی، اس لئے وہ وھاں زیادہ کھل کھیلے ھیں -

ذیلی نوٹ

ص ۱۰ سطر ۱۵ — اگر یہ معلوم ھو جائے کہ مرزا عباس بیگ کس زمانے میں لکھنؤ میں ای، اے، سی رھے تھے، تو اس سے اس ترجمے کا زمانہ متعین ھو جائے گا - مطبوعہ کتاب پر سنہ طباعت درج نہیں کیا گیا -

بشنو آوازم، پذیرا کن دعا
دشمنانم را گزیں بہر فنا
از کرم امید من کن استوار
اے کہ خوانندت پے کشف ضرار
اے بعسر و یسر مامول ہمہ!
وے ز تو انجاح مسئول ہمہ!
حاجت خود پیش تو آوردہ ام
نا گزیری بر تو عرضہ کردہ ام
پس بناکامی نگر دانم ز جود
از گزیدہ بخشش خود، اے ودود!
اے دھشور! اے دعشور مہربان!
مہرباں تر از ہمہ رحمت کناں

دعاے حضرت امام زین العابدین

یا الہی! قلب من محجوب و تنگ
عقل من مغلوب و نفس من بہ تنگ
حرص من بود است بر من چیرہ دست
کثرت عصیاں و طاعت اندک است
معترف آمد زبانم در ذنوب
چیست تدبیر من، علام الغیوب!
اے گنہ آمرز و ستار العیوب!
عفو کن از من بہ بخشایم ذنوب
اے بہنگام عقوبت سخت گیر
وے بحلم و مغفرت پوزش پذیر
حاجت من بہر قرآں کن روا
وز برائے حضرت خیر الورا
اے خدا! از آسماں آور فرود
بر نبی و آل اطہارش درود

اگر اس دعا کا تجزیہ کیا جائے، تو معلوم ہوگا کہ اس میں نیایش سے زیادہ ستایش کا پہلو نمایاں ہے۔ شروع میں حمد ہے (شعر ۱ - ۱۵) اور اس کے بعد درود (۱۶ - ۲۲) ۔پھر اس خواہش کا اظہار ہے کہ یا الہی! مجھے دعاے صبح گاہی کی توفیق ارزانی فرما اور میرے بیان میں خشوع و خضوع کا عنصر پیدا کر، تا کہ تیری نصرت سے میں گناہوں سے محفوظ رہوں ۔ (۲۳ - ۳۹) میرا نفس

هر چه خواهد عفو تو خود آں کند
چارۂ آں جرم و آں عصیاں کند (غ)
بر زداید هر چه کردم از گناه
بر کرانم آرد از کار تباه (غ)
لطف تو نگزاردم در بند آز
تا نمانم بستۂ بند نیاز (غ)
جز تو معبودے نشد هستی گرا
بهر تو آریم تسبیح و ثنا
مر ترا دائم ستایش گستریم
در ستایش ها نیایش آوریم
کیست آں کو داندت حکم و تواں
پس نیاید بیم تو او را بجاں
کیست آں کو آنچه هستیٔ داندت
پس ز تو نا ترسد و نا خواندت
از تواں تست تالیف الفرق
باشد از رحم تو یفلق الفلق
فرقه هاے مختلف یک جا کنی
صبح را از تار شب پیدا کنی (غ)
ص۲۲ تار شب را ساختی رخشنده رخت
آب را کردی رواں از سنگ سخت
آب را کردی دو گونه آشکار
یک بود شور و دگر شیریں گوار
از فشارنده که آں باشد سحاب
خود فرود آوردۂ ریزنده آب
ساختی خورشید و ماه را آشکار
در جهاں مثل چراغ نور بار
بے ازاں کز احتمال رنج و دود
ماند کی آید ترا از کار کرد
اے یگانه با همه عز و بقا
بندگاں را پست کردی از فنا
اے خداے پاک و اے رب ودود!
از فرازیں بر فرود آور درود
بر محمد مصطفیٰ و آل او
آں گزیده گوهران پاک خو

سوے لطف و رافتت بسپردمش
سوے غفاری و عفوت بردمش
اے خدا! برمن بیار ایں بامداد
با فروغ راستکاری و رشاد
و ایں سحر را کن تو اے پروردگار!
از براے دین و دنیا پاسدار
ص۱۸ شامگاهم را بکن بهرم سپر
از فریب دشمنان کینه ور
نیز آں شام مرا کن پاسدار
از هوا و ز مهلکات روزگار
با شدت بر هرچه می خواهی توآں
هر که راخواهی دهی ملک جهاں
ملک خود را باز بستانی همیں
از کسے کش خواهیش کردن چنیں
هر کرا خواهی تو عزت می دهی
هر کرا خواهی تو ذلت می دهی
ص۱۹ نیکی و خوبی همه در دست تست
هر چه باشد هستی اش پابست تست
بر همه هستی توانائی تراست
دیگرے را ایں توانائی کجاست
شب درون روز می آری همیں
باز روز آری درون شب چنیں
تو بر آری زنده را از مرده تن
می بر آری مرده از زنده بدن
خوں ز جسم و جسم را از آب و خوں
از توان خود همی آری بروں (غ)
بیضهٔ از مرغ و مرغ از بیضه ها
می برآری تا شود هستی گرا (غ)
ص۲۰ یا ز نادانے خدا را ناشناس
عالمے یزداں ستا و با سپاس (غ)
باز از دانا تو ناداں آوری
کو بدوری افتد از دانشوری (غ)
هر کرا خواهی تو روزی می دهی
بیش از انداز و مقدارش دهی

بخشش خود را تو زنجیر دراز
بر کشیدی، اے خدائے بے نیاز (غ)
ص۱۵ خود نمی بندی درت بر روے کس
جز برحمت می نه بیلی سوے کس (غ)
لطف تو عام ست و هرگز نیست خاص
دور تر رفته ازیں در اختصاص (غ)
بسته نبود بر رخ کس باب تو
هر کسے رخشاں بود از تاب تو (غ)
ابر تو ریزد بهر دامن گهر
هر کسے را فیض تو آید ز در (غ)
ممسکی و بخل در تو یافت نیست
آنکه در هستی بود بے بهره کیست (غ)
غایت مامول و مسئولم توئی
آخر مقصود و مامولم توئی
ایں زمام نفس خود را اے خدا
کرده ام بر بستهٔ بند رضا
ص۱۶ مرکب نفسم که از بس سرکش است
هر زماں سر بر فلک چوں آتش است (غ)
با رضایت کرده ام فرماں پزیر
تا بود در محبس فرماں اسیر (غ)
هر چه ریزندش، همه گیرد بسر
سر نتابد از قضا و از قدر (غ)
هر چه پیش آیدش، گیرنده شود
هر چه بد هندش، پزیرنده شود (غ)
گر همه تلخی پزیرندش بکام
در کشد یکسر چناں کز شهد جام (غ)
خواهش خود را نماید بے نشاں
خواهش تو پیش گیرد جاوداں (غ)
از گناهم بود بس بار گراں
رافت و رحم تو کردش بے نشاں
بے نشانش کردم از الطاف تو
ساختم معدومش از اعطاف تو (غ)
ص۱۷ و ایں هوائے نفس من گمراه کن
از طریق راستی بے راه کن

ص۱۲ لغز شے کز من بیا ید آشکار
در گزار از من تو اے پروردگار!
عفو کن افتادن من در بلا
باز دار از هرچه زاید زاں علا
زیں که هستی سرور و معبود من
غایت هر خواهش و مقصود من
در زمان هر کجا گردیدنم
نیز در هنگام آرا میدنم
ص۱۳ خود چه ساں می دانی اے پروردگار!
بیدوائے کامدت با اضطرار
یعنی آں مسکیں که آور دست رو
با همه صد نا شکیبی سوے تو
از گناه خود گریزاں آمده
وز خطاے خود پشیماں آمده
ره پژوهے را که خواهد راه نو
قصد اُو باشد همه درگاه تو
سوے درگاه تو باشد تیز گام
می کنی دورش چرا از راه کام!
تشنهٔ را باز می داری چرا
آنکه سوے حوض تو شد ره گرا
آب جویاں آمده بر چشمه سار
طالب خود تر کند زاں آبشار (غ)
ص۱۴ زینهار ایں حوض تو پر از زلال
پر بود هنگام قحط و خشک سال
باب تو مفتوح باشد جاوداں
بر رخ خوانده و ناخواندگاں
طالبان و هم طفیلی آشکار
بر در بکشاده ات یابند بار (غ)
هر که می خوانیش' می آید بزود
وانکه نا خوانیش' نیز آید فرود (غ)
ایں درت بر روے کس بر بسته نیستہ
خوانده و ناخوانده' جود اینجا یکیست (غ)
از کمال جود تست ایں فتح باب
تا همه گردند از تو بهره یاب (غ)

کس نیا مرزد گناهم، اے خدا!
سر نگوں افتادن من در هوا
ص۹ نصرت تو گر مرا ناید معین
گاه جنگ نفس و شیطان لعین
این چنین خذلان بعدر مانم کشد
در همه رنج و تعب جانم کشد
خود ترا می بهلی، اے هستی خدا!
کامدم سویت بامید و رجا
دست پیوستم باطراف الحبال
چون گنه افگند دورم از وصال
چون بدوری در شدم از بارگاه
زانکه چیره شد بمن دست گناه (غ)
ص۱۰ زشت مرکوبے که نفس من بران
از هوا و حرص شد دائم روان
واه از تسویل نفس ذو فنون!
کان بود از آرزو هاے و ظنون
آه ازان خواهش کزو برخاسته
آرزو ها آردش آراسته
هر زمان کا مے بهر سؤ پیش برد
فرش خواهش ها بهر سو گسترد (غ)
بر درازی ها کشد، طول امل
تابدوری افتد از حسن عمل (غ)
نیست نادان نفس فرمان ناپذیر
کو بود پیش خدا وندش دلیر
ص۱۱ جرات وگستاخی و عصیان کند
سر کشی از طاعت یزدان کند (غ)
اے خدا وندا! من از دست رجا
کو فتم دروازه رحم ترا
سوے تو بگریختم با اضطرار
از وفور خواهش نا استوار
در رسن هاے تو، اے گیتی خدا!
باز پیوستم سر انگشت ولا
در گزار از من، تو اے رب الورا!
هر چه کردم از گناه و از خطا

در شب تاریک تر شد رہ نما
سوے درگاہ تو' اے گیتی خدا!
از سبب ھاے تو' اے رب المبیں!
از شرف گیر ندۂ حبل الوطیں
آں فروزاں گوھرے ویژہ نژاد
آنکہ بر دوش بلندی پانہاد
ص۶ آں کہ آمد درنخستیں روزگار
پاے اُو برجاے لغزاں استوار
نیز بر آلش کہ از بس طاھر اند
پاک دیں و برگزیدہ ظاھر اند
نیک کرداران و یزداں بر گزیں
بر گزیدہ گوھران پاک دیں
اے خدا! بکشا مصاریع الصباح
از براے مابمفتاح الفلاح
یعنی اے دادار گیتی دادگر
بو کشا بر ما تو درھاے سحر (غ)
از کلید لطف در ھا باز کن
بھر ما سامان رحمت ساز کن (غ)
ص۷ بھترین پیرایۂ رشد و سداد
در برم پوشاں تو اے رب العباد! (غ)
بر نشاں در من یلنا بیع الخشوع
از روانم کن رواں عین الخضوع
پیش گاہ عظمت اے بے نیاز
کن رواں از چشم من آب نیاز
دائم از بیم خودت' اے کردگار!
اشک ھا از گوشۂ چشم بھار
سبکی نادانیم تادیب کن
از شکیبائی مرا تھذیب کن
ص۸ گر نباشد از تو آغاز کرم
ور نہ توفیق تو باشد رھبرم
کس نیارد بردن من سوے تو
در کشادہ تر رھے در کوے تو
گر مرا حلم تو بسپارد بہ آز
بر کشد زنجیرۂ حرص ام دراز

اپنی طرف سے اضافہ کئے ہیں -

ص۲ اے خدا! اے داور کوہر کشاد
از درخشیدن زبان با مداد
پارہ ہاے تار شب را آفرید
پردہ ہاے تار ظلمت در کشید
کرد صنع چرخ گرداں استوار
در مقادیر تزین آشکار

ص۳ اے خداوندے کہ تاب آفتاب
کرد یک جا با فروغ التہاب
چہرۂ مہر درخشاں بر فروخت
با ہمہ تابش در آتش رخت سوخت
اے کہ ذاتش را بذاتش رہبری
گشت از ہم جلسی عالم بری
در جہان ہستی اش ہم جلس کیست
ہیچ مخلوقے بدو ہم جلس نیست
برتر از کیفیت آمد گوہرش
کیفیت ہا نیستی گیرد برش

ص۴ اے کہ نزدیکی بخطرات ظنوں
دور تر ہستی ز دیدار عیوں
یعنی از دیدہ شدن ذاتش بریست
بر کرانہ از جہات پیکر یست
گوہر او از پس و پیش است بیش
کرد ہستی را محاط علم خویش
ہر چہ در عالم بہ ہستی رو نمود
پیش از ہستی بعلم او کشود
اے کہ در گہوارہ امن و اماں
خواب را در چشم من کردی نہاں

ص۵ باز چشم من بہ بیداری کشاد
سوے احسان و عطاے کو بداد
دست او بر بست دست ہر زیاں
قدرت او از بدی دادم اماں
بر فرست، اے داور ہستی! درود
بر کسے کو سوے تو راہم نمود

(۶) ایک اور مثال ملاحظہ ہو:

عربی دعا میں ہے: اِلٰہی ھذہ اَزمتہ نفسی عقلتھا بعقال مشیتک

فارسی مترجم اسے یوں بیان کرتے ہیں: اے خدائے من! ایں زمام ھائے نفس خود را بر بستہ ھں بہ بند خواھش تو - غالب نے اس مطلب کو ایک شعر میں ادا کر دیا ہے - فرق صرف اتنا ہے کہ انہوں نے 'زمام' کو جمع کی بجائے واحد لکھا ہے اور 'مشیتک' کی ضمیر واحد حاضر کا اظہار نہیں ہو سکا -

ایں زمام نفس خود را اے خدا! کردہ ام بربستۂ بند رضا

یہ تقریباً وہی الفاظ ہیں' جو فارسی مترجم نے استعمال کئے تھے - اب اس پر چھ شعر اضافہ کرتے ہیں :-

مرکب نفسم کہ ازبس سرکش است ہر زماں سر بر فلک چوں آتش است

با رضایت کردہ ام فرماں پزیر تابود در محبس فرماں اسیر

ہر چہ ریزندش' ہمہ گیرد بسر سر نتابد از قضا و از قدر

ہر چہ پیش آیدش' گیرندہ شود ہر چہ بد ہندش' پزیرندہ شود

گر ہمہ تلخی پزیرندش بکام در کشد یکسر چناں کز شہد جام

خواھش خود را نماید بے نشاں خواھش تو پیش گیرد جاوداں

اور بھی ایسی مثالیں پیش کی جا سکتی ہیں!

اِس سے معلوم ہوگا کہ یہ مثنوی محض ترجمے ہی تک محدود نہیں رہی' بلکہ غالب نے خود بھی اس میں معتد بہ اضافہ کیا ہے اور اس کا اچھا خاصا حصہ ان کا طبع زاد ہے' اگرچہ یہ بھی درست ہے کہ چونکہ وہ اساسی طور پر دعا کا ترجمہ کر رہے تھے' اس لئے ان کے اضافے بھی اسی کی تعبیر و تشریح پر مشتمل ہیں' ورنہ نظم میں تسلسل قائم نہیں رہ سکتا تھا -

دعاء الصباح کا ترجمہ ۱۲۴ شعروں پر مشتمل ہے اور یہ کتاب کے صفحہ ۲۴ پر ختم ہو جاتا ہے - یہاں اس کے آخر میں یہ عبارت ملتی ہے -

اور جناب امام زین العابدین علیہ الصلوۃ و السلام سے

روایت ہے کہ بعد پڑھنے اس کے سجدے میں یہ دعا پڑھے"

اس کے بعد صفحہ ۲۵ اور ۲۶ پر دوسری (امام زین العابدین کی) چند سطری عربی دعا اور حسب سابق اس کا فارسی نثر میں ترجمہ اور غالب کا منظوم ترجمہ درج ہے - اس میں صرف سات شعر ہیں -

چونکہ یہ مثنوی عام طور پر مشہور نہیں اور غالب کے کسی مجموعۂ کلام میں شامل نہیں ہوئی' لہذا اسے ذیل میں درج کر رہا ہوں - میں نے ان شعروں پر 'غ' کا نشان کر دیا ہے' جو غالب نے

(۴) عربی دعا کا ٹکڑا ھے :

وافتح اللهم لنا مصاریع الصباح بمفاتیح الرحمته و الفلاح

اس کا فارسی ترجمه ھے :

و برکشا اے خدا بہرما دروازہ ھاے بامداد بکلید ھاے رحمت ونیکوئی

غالب لکھتے ھیں :

لی خدا! بکشا مصاریع الصباح　　از برائے ما بمفتاح الفلاح

ترجمه اگرچه مکمل ھو گیا' لیکن ان کی تسکین نہیں ھوئی - خیال کیا ھوگا که 'مصاریع الصباح' اور 'مفتاح الفلاح' کی ترکیبیں شرح طلب ھیں - اس لئے دو شعروں میں ان کی یوں وضاحت کرتے ھیں :-

یعنی اے داداو گیتی داد گر!　　بر کشا برما تو در ھاے سحر

از کلید لطف درھا باز کن　　بهر ما سامان رحمت ساز کن

(۵) بلکه اس سے بھی زیادہ' بعض اوقات جب ان کا دریاے سخن روانی پر آ جاتا ھے' تو یوں معلوم ھوتا ھے که اگر ان کا بس چلے اور ترجمے کی پابندی راہ میں حائل نه ھو' تو وہ اسے ختم نہیں کرنا چاھتے مثلاً دعا کا ایک مختصر فقرہ تھا:

و بابک مفتوح للطلب و الوغول - فارسی میں اس کا ترجمه ھوا ھے در تو کشادہ بود از بهر طالباں و دعوت ناخواندگاں - یعنی اے کریم! تیرا دروازہ ھر خواندہ و ناخواندہ مہمان کے واسطے ھمیشه کھلا ھے - یہی مضمون حضرت سعدی نے ایک پہلو سے لکھا ھے - فرماتے ھیں:-

اے کریمے که از خزانۂ غیب　　گبر و ترسا وظیفه خورداری

دوستاں را کجا کنی محروم　　تو که با دشمنی نظرداری

تو غالب نے اس کا ترجمه ایک شعر میں کر دیا:-

باب تو مفتوح باشد جاوداں　　بر رخ خواھندہ و نا خواندگاں

اب اس کے بعد ان کی روانی طبع کا کرشمه ملاحظه ھو - لکھتے ھیں:

طالباں و ھم طفیلی آشکار　　بر در بکشادہ ات یا بند بار

ھر که می خوانیش' می آید بزود　　وانکه ناخوانیش' نیز آید فرود

ایں درت بر روے کس بربسته نیست　　خواندہ وناخواندہ' جودایلت یکیست

از کمال جودتست ایں فتح باب　　تا همه گردانند از تو بہرہ یاب

بخشش خود را تو زنجیر دراز　　بر کشیدی' اے خداے بے نیاز

خود نمی بندی درت برروئے کس　　جز برحمت می نه بینی سوے کس

لطف توعام ست وھرگزنیست خاص　　دور تر رفته ازیں در اختصاص

بستۂ نبود برخ کس باب تو　　ھر کسے رخشاں بود از تاب تو

ابر تو ریزد بهر دامن گهر　　ھر کسے را فیض تو آید زدر

ممسکی و بخل درتو یافت نیست　　آنکه در ھستی بود بے بہرہ کیست

ہیں - شعروں کی تعداد بھی مقرر نہیں ' اگر مطلب ایک شعر میں ادا نہیں ہو سکا ' تو تین یا زیادہ شعر لکھ دئے ہیں -

غالب نے نظم میں ہر جگہ اپنے آپ کو فارسی نثر ہی تک محدود نہیں رکھا ' بلکہ جا بجا اپنی طرف سے اضافے بھی کئے ہیں ' مثلاً

(۱) عربی عبارت تھی : و شعشع ضیاء الشمس بنور تاججه

اس کا فارسی ترجمہ ہے : و آمیخت روشنی خورشید را بفروغ زبانہ کشیدن آں

غالب اس کا ترجمہ کرتے ہیں :

اے خداوندے کہ تاب آفتاب کرد یک جا با فروغ التہاب

چہرۂ مہر درخشاں بر فروخت با ہمہ تابش در آتش رخت سوخت

ظاہر ہے کہ یہاں ' اے خداوندے ' کے الفاظ زائد ہیں - یہ در اصل ترجمہ ہیں لفظ ' اللهم ' کا ' جو دعا کے آغاز میں وارد ہوا ہے - دوسرے شعر میں بھی بہت سی عبارت غالب کی طرف سے اضافہ ہے ' جو نہ اصل عربی سے مستعار ہے ' نہ فارسی نثر سے -

(۲) اسی کے معاً بعد کا ٹکڑا ہے :

یا من دل علی ذاته بذاته و تنزه عن مجانسة مخلوقاته

فارسی نثر دیکھئے : اے آنکہ دلالت کرد بر ذات خویش بذات خود و پاکی گزید از مجانست مخلوقات خود

غالب اسے نظم میں یوں لکھتے ہیں :-

اے کہ ذاتش را بذاتش رہبری گشت از ہم جنسی عالم بری

در جہان ہستی اش ہم جنس کیست ' ہیچ مخلوقے بدو ہم جنس نیست

نثری عبارت کا پورا ترجمہ پہلے شعر میں آ گیا تھا ' دوسرا شعر غالب نے اپنی طرف سے اضافہ کیا ہے ' یا زیادہ سے زیادہ اسے لفظ 'تنزہ' کی تفسیر کہہ سکتے ہیں -

(۳) عربی میں تھا : یا من قرب من خطرات الظنون و بعد عن ملاحظة العیون

اسے فارسی نثر میں یوں لکھا ہے :

اے کہ نزدیک شد از خطرات گمان ہا و دور شد از دیدن چشماں

غالب نے اس پورے مضمون کو ایک شعر میں ادا کر دیا ' جو درحقیقت عربی متن ہی کے الفاظ ہیں :-

اے کہ نزدیکی بخطرات ظنون دور تر ہستی ز دیدار عیون

لیکن اسی پر اکتفا نہ کرتے ہوئے اپنی طرف سے تفسیری اضافہ کیا :

یعنی از دیدہ شدن ذاتش بری ست بر کرا نہ از جہات پیکر یست

گوہر او از پس و پیش است بیش کرد ہستی را محاط علم خویش

کوئی صاحب عربی دعا کا فارسی نثر میں ترجمہ کر دیں، تو میں اسے فارسی نظم میں لکھ دونگا - چنانچہ یہی ہوا -

'دعاے صباح' اسی عربی دعا کے فارسی ترجمۂ نثر و نظم پر مشتمل ۲۶ صفحے کا مختصر رسالہ ہے - یہ چند سطریں اسی سے متعلق لکھ رہا ہوں - اس کا پہلا ایڈیشن میرے پیش نظر ہے -

اس کا سائز $12\frac{1}{2} \times 17\frac{1}{2}$، $8 \times 14\frac{1}{2}$ سم ہے - سب صفحوں پر سطروں کی تعداد یکساں نہیں - اس کی وجہ عربی عبارت کا اندراج ہے - جو اعراب کی وجہ سے کم و بیش جگہ لے لیتی ہے - بالعموم صفحے میں گیارہ سے تیرہ سطریں تک ملتی ہیں -

صفحۂ اول (یعنی ٹائٹل) کی عبارت ہے :—

"دعای ماثور و منقول از جناب امیر علیہ السلام

مع ترجمہ نثر و نیز ترجمہ منظوم از مرزا اسد اللہ خاں غالب موسوم بہ

دعای صباح

حسب الایمای مرزا عباس بیگ صاحب اکسٹرا اسسٹنٹ کمشنر لکھنؤ

بمطبع منشی نولکشور رونق طبع یافت"

میں نے جو اوپر لکھا ہے کہ فارسی نثری ترجمہ کسی اور صاحب کا کیا ہوا ہے، تو یہ استنباط میں نے اسی عنوان کی دوسری سطر سے کیا ہے - لکھا ہے: "مع ترجمہ نثر و نیز ترجمۂ منظوم از مرزا اسد اللہ خان غالب" - لفظ "نیز" سے ثابت ہوتا ہے کہ صرف منظوم ترجمہ غالب کا ہے، نثری ترجمہ کسی اور صاحب نے کیا ہے -

کتاب کے صفحہ ۲ کی پیشانی پھولدار ہے اور اس کے اندر عنوان لکھا ہے: "دعاء الصباح" حالاں کہ باہر صفحۂ اول پر "دعاے صباح" لکھا تھا -

عنوان کے بعد ایک سطر میں "بسم اللہ الرحمان الرحیم" لکھاہے - پھر دعا شروع ہوتی ہے - طریقہ یہ اختیار کیا ہے کہ پہلے جلی حروف میں، ایک (یا زیادہ) سطر میں دعا کے عربی الفاظ ہیں - ان کے نیچے فارسی نثری ترجمہ ہے اور اس سے اگلی سطر میں غالب کا منظوم ترجمہ ہے -

فارسی نثر والا ترجمہ لفظی ہے اور اس سے معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ مترجم عربی اور فارسی، دونوں زبانوں پر پورے طور پر قادر ہے - ترجمہ ایسا صحیح اور قل و دل ہے کہ اس سے بہتر تصور میں نہیں آ سکتا - غالب نے اسی فارسی نثر کو منظوم کر دیا ہے - بالعموم وہ فارسی عبارت کی تقلید کرتے ہیں اور انھی لفظوں کو آگے پیچھے کر کے نظم میں لکھ دیتے

(۲) دعاے صباح

مالک رام

حضرت علی کرم اللہ وجہہ سے ایک دعا منسوب ہے، جسے دعاء الصباح کہتے ہیں - یہ نام اسے غالباً اس لئے دیا گیا کہ اس کے آغاز کی عبارت (اللھم یامن دلع لسان الصباح الخ) میں لفظ صباح وارد ہوا ہے - اس دعا سے متعلق مشہور ہے کہ اگر انسان اس کی مزاولت کرے تو اللہ تعالیٰ اسے ہر ابتلا سے محفوظ رکھے گا، دنیا میں اسے مکرم و معزز بنائیگا، اور دشمن اس پر غلبہ نہیں پا سکیگا - یہی وجہ ہے کہ یہ دعا شیعی حضرات کے ہاں بہت مقبول ہے اور وہ فجر کے بعد بالعموم اس کا ورد کرتے ہیں -

غالب کی بڑی بہن چھوٹی خانم سیتا پور کے ایک صاحب مرزا اکبر بیگ (بن مرزا جیون بیگ) کے عقد نکاح میں تھیں - ان کے تین بیٹے تھے: مرزا عاشور بیگ اور مرزا علی جواد بیگ عرف مغل بیگ اور مرزا عباس بیگ - غالب کے خطوں اور تحریروں میں ان تینوں سے متعلق اشارے ملتے ہیں - مثلاً مرزا عاشور بیگ سے متعلق ایک خط میں میرزا یوسف کو اطلاع دی ہے کہ وہ ۱۸۵۷ء کی شورش میں اپنے صاحبزادے احمد بیگ کے ساتھ انگریز کی گولی کا نشانہ بنے - (اردوے معلیٰ ص ۲۵۵) -

دوسرے میرزا مغل بیگ الور میں ملازم تھے - جب ۱۸۵۸ء میں وہاں غیر ریاستی اسیروں اور ملازموں کے خلاف ہنگامہ ہوا، تو یہ بھی وہاں سے جان بچا کر نکل بھاگے تھے - اس زمانے کے خطوں میں غالب نے اپنی تشویش کا اظہار کیا ہے اور حکیم غلام نجف خان سے ان کی خیر و عافیت دریافت کی ہے (ایضاً ص۱۶۹)

تیسرے میرزا عباس بیگ نے بہت نام پیدا کیا - وہ یوپی کے مختلف اضلاع میں معزز عہدوں پر فائز رہے - ان کی اولاد احفاد غالباً اب بھی سیتاپور اور لکھنؤ کے نواح میں موجود ہے - میرزا عباس بیگ بلحاظ عقائد شیعی تھے - انہوں نے ماموں (میرزا غالب) سے درخواست کی کہ اس دعا کو فارسی نظم کا جامہ پہنا دیں - غالب عربی سے نابلد تھے - اس لئے ظاہر ہے کہ وہ براہ راست عربی عبارت کو فارسی میں منتقل کرنے سے قاصر تھے - یقیناً انہوں نے یہی کہا ہوگا کہ اگر

درماندہ ہوتی ہے تو مذہب و اخلاق ہی کی روشنی و رہنمائی میں خیر کثیر سے ہمکنار ہوتی ہے - سید بن صاحب اقدار اعلیٰ کے حامی ہیں - اسکی وجہ سے میرے دل میں انکی بڑی وقعت ہے - اقدار اعلیٰ کیا ہیں اور کیا نہیں اس سے یہاں بحث نہیں - اتنا جانتا ہوں کہ اقدار اگر اعلیٰ ہیں تو وہ اقدار مطلق بھی ہیں - سید بن صاحب کی تحریر و تقریر میں زندگی اور معاشرے کا انسانی تصور ملتا ہے - وہ جانتے ہیں کہ علم خواہ کسی نوعیت کا ہو' کتنا ہی ترقی کر چکا ہو یا کرنے والا ہو اسکو لازمی طور پر انسان و انسانیت کی چاکری میں رہنا پڑیگا نہ یہ کہ انسان علم کا غلام بن جائے - آج ہم طرح طرح کی جن آفتوں میں مبتلا ہیں اُس میں غریب علم ملزم یا مجرم نہیں صرف مستغیث اور داد خواہ ہے اور شدم ز صحبت آدمیاں خراب کا مصداق - علم' تعلیم اور معلم میں اخلاقی رشتہ ہے نہ کہ میکانیکی یا حیاتیاتی - سید بن صاحب نے ہمیشہ اسی کی تائید کی ہے اسلئے وہ ہماری تہنیت و تشکر کے مستحق ہیں -

سید بن صاحب کو اسلاف سے' اپنے خاندان سے' اپنی درسگاہ سے' اپنے ساتھیوں سے' اپنے مطالعہ اور تجربے سے ایسا انداز فکر و عمل ملا ہے کہ ناسازگار حالتوں میں خاص طور پر وہ زندگی کے اعلیٰ معیار پر قائم رہنے کو اپنا سب سے بڑا اور اہم فریضہ سمجھتے ہیں - اُن کے بارے میں اور بہت سی اچھی باتیں کہنے سے رہ جاتی ہیں - مجلے کی گنجائش محدود ہے - یہ بھی نہیں گوارا کہ اچھی باتیں روا روی میں کہ ڈالی جائیں - البتہ اس کا اطمینان ہے کہ اچھی باتوں نے اپنے اظہار و اعلان کے لئے سید بن صاحب کا انتخاب کیا اور سید بن صاحب کا انتخاب اُن سب نے جن کے نام آپکو اس خوبصورت اور یادگار کتاب کے اوراق میں ملیں گے -

ساتھ نہیں قائم ہوتی - افسوس کے ساتھ کہنا پڑتا ہے کہ یہ نقشہ تا دیر قائم نہ رہ سکا - وجوہ سے بحث نہیں -

وزارت تعلیم سے سلسلہ منقطع کرنے کے بعد امریکہ کے بعض موقر علمی و تعلیمی اداروں میں مدعو پروفیسر کی حیثیت سے تعلیم کے مختلف مسائل پر خطبے دئے - اندنوں یہ سلسلہ جزائر ہوائی میں جاری ہے - سید ین صاحب کے تعلیمی خطبات تحریر و تقریر اور انکی تصانیف عالمانہ، سلجھی ہوئی اور حشو و زوائد سے پاک ہوتی ہیں - سال کی بہترین تصنیف ہونے کے اعتبار سے ان کے اُردو مجموعہ مضامین " آندھی میں چراغ " پر ساہتیہ اکیڈمی نے اپنا سب سے بڑا انعام دیا ہے - منتخب شرفائے ادب اور ارباب فضل و ہنر کی محفل میں بحث و بصیرت کے اعتبار سے سید ین ہمیشہ اہل محفل کے ہمدوش و ہم‌عناں رہے - وہ موجودہ زمانے کے نو بہ نو تقاضوں سے پورے طور پر آشنا ہیں - یہ سبھی جانتے ہیں کہ ان میں سے اکثر ہماری مانی ہوئی قدروں سے ہم آہنگ نہیں ہیں لیکن ان تقاضوں کے ناسازگار ہونے کو ناگزیر یا ناقابل تسخیر نہیں سمجھتے اور انکی آڑ میں خوب کو زشت کا رنگ دینے کی کوشش نہیں کرتے جیسا کہ آج کل کے کم سواد مدعیان فکر و فن کرتے ہیں -

سید ین صاحب کا تعلق تمام عمر اعلیٰ علمی و تعلیمی سرگرمیوں سے رہا - یہ اُن کے رجحان طبع، خاندانی روایات، ممتاز علمی و تہذیبی شخصیتوں کی رفاقت اور اس پاکیزہ اور صحت مند ماحول کا نتیجہ ہے جو اول سے آخر تک ان کو میسر رہا اور اب تک ہے - اگر کوئی پوچھے کہ سید ین صاحب کی شخصیت کا سب سے نمایاں وصف کیا ہے تو وثوق سے کہا جا سکتا ہے کہ اقدار اعلیٰ کی ہمہ وقت، ہمہ جہت تبلیغ! غالباً انکی سب سے پہلی مستقل تصنیف Iqbal's Philosophy of Education ہے جو آج سے کم و بیش پچیس سال پہلے شائع ہوئی جس میں انہوں نے اقبال کے کلام سے ان کے تعلیمی نقطہ نظر کی تعبیر و توضیح کی ہے - ۱۹۶۳ء میں ان کی ایک اور کتاب Man in the New World شائع ہوئی جو شعبہ جنرل ایجوکیشن علی گڑھ یونیورسٹی کی فرمائش پر لکھی گئی - دونوں کی تصنیف و اشاعت میں کافی بعد زمانی ہے لیکن مصنف کے فکر و نظر کی محلت و اساس میں کوئی تبدیلی نظر نہ آئیگی - حالانکہ سید ین صاحب نہ کبھی آئین نو سے ڈرے نہ طرز کہن پر اڑے -

اقدار اعلیٰ کا سرچشمہ مذہب و اخلاق ہے - انسانیت کا صالح تصور مذہب و اخلاق کی دین ہے - جب انسانیت ہر طرف سے راندہ و

ملتا ہے اور خود علی گڑھ سے تا زندگی انکو جو شیفتگی رہتی ہے و
بہت بڑی حد تک اسی طرح کے حلقۂ ارباب صفا کا فیضان ہے - ایسے
متعدد و متنوع حلقوں میں سے کسی نہ کسی سے تقریباً ہر طالب علم
اپنے مذاق و استعداد کے اعتبار سے وابستہ ہوتا - اسکا نتیجہ یہ تھا کہ
ہم میں ہر شخص سب سے بڑے حلقہ یعنی علی گڑھ کا حلقہ بگوش
ہو جاتا - یہاں ایک شعر یاد آتا ہے - اور جسطرح یاد آیا ہے اُس سے
یقین ہوتا ہے کہ اچھا اور بر محل ہوگا -

اُس نے اپنا بنا کے چھوڑ دیا — کیا اسیری ہے کیا رہائی ہے

سید ین صاحب جس گھرانے کے چشم و چراغ ہیں اور جن روائتوں
سے اُنہوں نے پیمان وفا باندھا تھا وہ علی گڑھ میں اور زیادہ منقح و
مستحکم ہو گئیں - اسلئے کہ یہاں کے آب و گل کا خمیر اسی طرح کی
روائتوں سے اٹھا تھا - اُن کی تخلیق و تزئین میں اُس عہد کے بزرگوں کا بڑا
قیمتی حصہ تھا - ایسے ہی ایک حلقۂ علم و ادب کے گل سر سبد
سیدین صاحب تھے - اس حلقے کے اراکین آج بھی اپنے فکر و نظر کے
اعتبار سے معروف و ممتاز ہیں - اس طرح علم و فن کا احترام سید ین
صاحب کی زندگی کا ایک جز بن گیا - چنانچہ کالج سے نکلنے کے بعد
وہ جس منصب پر فایز ہوئے اور ذوق و ذہن کے اعتبار سے کیسی ہی
"وادیِ غیر ذی زرع" سے کیوں نہ سابقہ رہا ہو، ذوق و ذہن کی
شمع روشن کرتے رہے -

سید ین صاحب نے اپنی تعلیم علی گڑھ میں مکمل کی - پھر
ولائت گئے، وہاں سے ام ایڈ ہو کر آئے اور مادر درسگاہ کے شعبۂ تعلیمات
سے منسلک ہو گئے - یہیں پروفیسر ہوئے - پرنسپل کے منصب پر فائز
ہوئے - اسکے بعد بمبئی، کشمیر، دھلی میں تعلیم کے اعلیٰ صیغوں کے
انچارج رہے - آزادی سے پہلے اور اُس کے بعد نظام تعلیم کی اصلاح اور
تشکیل نو کی جتنی تحریکیں بروے کار آئیں کم و بیش سب میں
کسی نہ کسی حیثیت سے انکی غیر معمولی قابلیت اور تجربے سے
فائدہ اٹھایا گیا جسکی تفصیل اس جلد کے اوراق میں نظر سے گزرے گی -

اسوقت وہ زمانہ یاد آتا ہے جب مولانا ابوالکلام آزاد مرحوم مرکز
میں وزیر تعلیم تھے اور کتنے اور کیسے کیسے جوہر قابل اپنے گرد اکٹھا
کر لئے تھے - سید ین صاحب، سید اشفاق حسین، پروفیسر ھمایوں کبیر
اور بعض دوسرے اصحاب - مرکزی کابینہ کے دوسرے صیغوں کا نہ مجھے
کوئی علم نہ اُن سے کوئی دلچسپی - وزارت تعلیم کے بارے میں البتہ
کہ سکتا ہوں کہ اس نے بالغ نظری، رواداری اور کارکردگی کی ایک
قابل قدر روایت قائم کر دی تھی - اچھی روایت کے بغیر کسی ادارے کی

تو اُن کے کارناموں میں وسعت نہیں تو وہ برکت بھی آتی یا نہیں جس نے علی گڑھ تحریک کو ایک طور پر Renaissance (نشاۃ الثانیہ) اور Reformation (تحریک اصلاح مذہب) کی حیثیت دیدی - سر سید کے کاموں کو حالی سے براہ راست یا بالواسطہ' قریب یا دور کا جو فائدہ پہنچا اسکے مرتب و منظم مطالعہ کی طرف اب تک ہماری توجہ کم گئی ہے - سر سید کی بے بہا اور بے مثل خدمات میں جس مخصوص ضمیر کی روشنی ملتی ہے اس میں حالی کا تصرف نمایاں ہے

سید ین صاحب' خواجہ غلام الثقلین کے فرزند اور حالی کے پرپوتے اور پر نواسے ہیں - وہ ان دونوں کی اعلیٰ ذہنی علمی اور اخلاقی صلاحیتوں سے بہرہ مند ہیں - حالی کی خدمت میں باریاب ہونے کا شرف مجھے کبھی نہیں حاصل ہوا لیکن اُن کے فرزند خواجہ سجاد حسین صاحب سے ہوا ہے جب وہ بہت ضعیف اور تقریباً گوشہ گزیں ہو چکے تھے - خواجہ صاحب کی شفقت و شرافت کو دیکھتے ہوے اندازہ کر سکتا ہوں کہ حالی کی بلندی و بزرگی کا کیا عالم رہا ہوگا - اسی طرح خواجہ غلام الثقلین صاحب کو دیکھنے کا اتفاق نہیں ہوا لیکن اُن کے فرزند کے شریفانہ اخلاق و عادات نیز اکتسابات علمیہ و ذہن کو دیکھتے ہوئے قیاس کیا جا سکتا ہے کہ خواجہ غلام الثقلین مرحوم کی شخصیت کس پایے کی رہی ہوگی -

سید ین صاحب نے علی گڑھ میں طالب علمی کا پورا زمانہ بورڈنگ ہاؤس میں گزارا - عام طور پر کسی کو علی گڑھ کا مکمل تعلیم یافتہ نہیں سمجھا جاتا تاوقتیکہ اُس نے اپنی تعلیم و تربیت کا کافی زمانہ یہاں کے ہوسٹل میں بسر نہ کیا ہو - اس عہد کا دستور تھا کہ جو طالب علم علم و فن کی کسی شاخ میں ممتاز ہوتا اسکے ارد گرد ہم‌خیالوں کا حلقہ قائم ہو جاتا جسے آج کل کی اصطلاح میں اسٹڈی سرکل یا کلچرل گروپ کہتے ہیں - آج یہ بات غیر معمولی نہیں معلوم ہوتی - اسلئے کہ ملک میں شعر و ادب نیز دوسری کلچرل سرگرمیوں کو ترقی دینے کے لئے طرح طرح کے ادارے قائم ہیں اور ہوتے جا رہے ہیں لیکن اب سے پچاس ساٹھ سال پہلے اقامتی زندگی کا بڑا جامع اور نتائج کے اعتبار سے نہایت صحت مند' کثیر المقاصد پروگرام علی‌گڑھ میں بطور خود نافذ تھا جسکی مثال سارے ملک میں نہ تھی -

اس عہد میں اس طرح کے علمی و ادبی حلقے طلبا میں اتحاد خیال و اتحاد جذبات' علم و فن سے شغف' پاس مراتب' وسیع المشربی اور خیر منشی کی استعداد پیدا کرنے میں بہت معین ہوتے تھے - علی گڑھ کے طلبا میں ایکدوسرے کا جو غیر معمولی پاس و لحاظ

و مصلح تھے - خواجہ غلام الثقلین مرحوم کالج یونین کے ممتاز عہدہدار اور اراکین میں سے تھے - "جریدۂ عالم" پر باپ بیٹے کا دوام "ثبت" ہو یا نہیں کالج اور یونین کے جریدے پر ثبت ہو چکا ھے -

علی گڑھ تحریک کا ایک اھم پروگرام اصلاح رسوم و معاشرت کا تھا لیکن تعلیمی اور سیاسی مسائل کے نت نئے حالات و حوادث نے سرسید اور اُن کے رفقاء کی توجہ کو اس حد تک اپنی طرف مائل رکھا کہ اصلاح کا پروگرام التوا میں پڑ گیا - اس فروگزاشت کی تلافی خواجہ غلام الثقلین مرحوم تمام عمر یکہ و تنہا مسلسل گرانبہا خدمات سے کرتے رہے - اصلاح کا کام دیر میں اور تھکا دینے والے انتظار کے بعد برگ و بار لاتا ھے' اس میں چمک دمک نہیں ہوتی - امتیاز و اقتدار سے کلیتہ بے نیاز رہ کر خلوص و تندھی سے کام نہ کرتا رھے تو مقصد برآری نہیں ہوتی - اسی لئے بہت کم لوگ اس وادی میں قدم رکھنے کی جرات کرتے ھیں -

یہ فریضہ اسی یکسوئی سے انجام پاتا جس سے علی گڑھ تحریک کے دوسرے کام تو بہت سی وہ خرابیاں یا مشکلات از خود دور ہو جاتیں جنکے لئے سر سید, اُن کے رفقائے کرام اور بعد کے آنے والے کارکنوں کو غیر معمولی دشواریاں پیش آئیں - کہیں کہیں رسوائیاں بھی - اصلاح رسوم و معاشرت کے پروگرام کو نظر انداز کر دینے یا ثانوی حیثیت دیدینے سے تعلیم - تربیت - مذھب - سیاست میں وہ توازن یا توافق نہ آ سکا جس کی کمی اب تک محسوس کی جا رھی ھے -

آج بھی جبکہ ہر طرف آزادی و بیداری کے آثار نظر آ رہے ھیں عامتہ الناس کے افکار و اعمال کی اصلاح اور انکی عام زبوں حالی کو بہتر بنانے کے بجائے ہم انکو اپنے مشتبہ مقاصد یا مفاسد کا آلہ کار بنانے کی طرف مایل ھیں - ھمارے اس خیال کو اب عوام سمجھ چکے ھیں - چنانچہ انہوں نے ہم کو اپنے مقاصد کا آلہ کار بنانا شروع کر دیا ھے - عوام اور لیڈر دونوں ان دنوں ایک چکر میں اسیر بےتحاشا ایک دوسرے کا تعاقب کر رہے ھیں -

یہاں یہ گفتگو بظاہر دور از کار معلوم ہوتی ھے - لیکن اسکو سمجھے بغیر خواجہ غلام الثقلین کی خدمات کی قدر و قیمت کا صحیح اندازہ نہیں ہو سکتا - سید ین صاحب نے تعلیم و تربیت کے مسئلہ و مہم کو اپنا کر جو انکی صلاحیتوں کے عین مطابق تھا اپنے والد محترم کے مشن کو آگے بڑھایا -

خواجہ غلام الثقلین حالی کے نواسے اور ان کے بڑے بیٹے خواجہ اخلاق حسین کے داماد تھے - خیال ہوتا ھے کہ سر سید کو حالی نہ ملے ہوتے

(۱) سیدین علی گڑھ میں

رشید احمد صدیقی

جتنے زیادہ دن گزرے ہوں اُتنے ہی اُن کے کم ہونے کا احساس ہوتا ہے معلوم نہیں یہ بڑھاپے کا خاصہ ہے یا بعض حالات و واقعات میں ایسی کوی بات ہوتی ہے — یاد نہیں آتے تو نہیں آتے مگر جب یاد آتے ہیں تو اکثر یاد آتے ہیں -

یہ زمانہ سید ین صاحب کی طفولیت کا تھا جب وہ اپنے اسکول اسلامیہ ہائی اسکول پانی پت کی طرف سے تقریری مقابلہ میں شرکت کیلئے ام اے او کالج علی‌گڑہ آے تھے - یہ تقریب آل انڈیا مسلم ایجوکیشنل کانفرنس کے سالانہ اجلاس کے موقعہ پر ۱۹۱۰ء میں علی‌گڑہ میں منعقد ہوی تھی - اسٹریچی ہال میں تعلیم یافتہ ہندو مسلمان شرفا، اکابر اساتذہ اور طلبا کا شاندار اجتماع، اسکول کے ایک کمسن طالب علم کا اس موقعہ پر تقریر کرنے کے لئے اس اعتماد کے ساتھ مجمع کے سامنے آنا جیسے اسٹریچی ہال میں نہ صرف یہ کہ اس فن کا کوئی آشنا موجود نہ ہو بلکہ اپنے محلہ اور مکتب کے ہم عمر ساتھی ہوں - وہ بھی بیشتر ایسے جو ذہنی اعتبار سے فرو تر ہوں..................... لیکن یہ قصہ تو کہیں اور بیان کر آیا ہوں -

جلسہ ختم ہو گیا لیکن تقریر اور مقرر کا چرچا کچھ دنوں کالج میں ہوتا رہا - اس عہد کے کالج کو دیکھتے ہوے یہ کوئی معمولی بات نہ تھی - یاد نہیں آتا سید ین صاحب کس سال ہائی سکول کا امتحان پاس کر کے پانی پت سے علی‌گڑہ آے - شائد اُسی سال یا کچھ آگے پیچھے جب ام اے او کالج مسلم یونیورسٹی میں منتقل ہوا - غیر معمولی امتیاز سے بی اے پاس کیا - مجلس اتحاد (یونیورسٹی یونین کلب) میں تقریر کرنے کے جتنے چھوٹے بڑے انعامات تھے وہ سب حاصل کئے - حالانکہ اُس زمانے میں کالج میں ایک سے ایک اچھی تقریر کرنے والے موجود تھے - اُن کے مقابلے میں اپنی تقریر نیز تحریر کا لوہا منوانا معمولی بات نہ تھی -

دوسری خوبیوں کے علاوہ تقریر و تحریر کی غیر معمولی استعداد سید ین صاحب کو ورثے میں ملی تھی - اُن کے والد ماجد خواجہ غلام الثقلین اور عم محترم خواجہ غلام الحسنین اپنے عہد کے مشہور مقرر

فہرست مضامین

ارمغان الفت